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# **VEDIC STUDIES**

**BY**

**A. VENKATASUBBIAH**

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Om

*námo vācé yā coditā yā cānuditā tāsyaī vācé námo  
námo vācé námo vācúspátaye náma śṣibhyo mantrakṣṣdbhyo  
māntrapatibhyo mām mām śṣayo mantrakṣṣto mantrapátayaḥ  
pārā dur mām 'hām śṣin mantrakṣṣto mantrapátin pārā  
dām ||*

TA. 4, 1



## PREFACE

In the years 1926-1929, there were published by me in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* some articles under the general title of 'Vedic Studies.' As it has been thought that it would be more convenient to students if these articles were collected together and printed in the form of a book, I have done so here with the kind permission of the editors of those journals. Four articles however are new, and slight alterations have been made here and there in some of the others.

Owing to unexpected delays, the printing had to be done at a time when I was unable to read the proofs with the care which such work demands. In consequence, there is a fairly large number of typographical errors in the book; and their number would undoubtedly have been larger had it not been for the kindness of Mr. S. Sitaramayya and some other friends who obligingly took on themselves the task of reading some of the proofs. Such of the errors as I have noticed are corrected in the *Errata* given on the next page: some of them are due to the diacritical marks breaking off in the course of printing, and may not be found in all copies.

As is indicated by the title itself, I am in this book following the path trodden by the eminent German scholars Pischel and Geldner in their *Vedische Studien* which consists of articles devoted to the interpretation of obscure or misunderstood Vedic words. Like them (see op. cit., I, xxx), I have endeavoured to avoid reading un-Indian meanings into the R̥gveda, and, as far as possible, to elucidate the meaning of R̥gvedic passages by means of other RV passages. I venture to believe that I have adhered to this principle more closely than the above-named scholars; and this, as also the difference of personal outlook, will perhaps explain why my interpretations of some words (e.g. *dán*, *padbhīh*, *admasād*, *nīrekā*) differ from those given by them.

The abbreviations used to denote Vedic texts are the same as, or very similar to, those used by Bloomfield in his *Vedic Concordance* and explained on pp. xvi—xxii of the Introduction of that book.

Mysore,  
March 1932

A. Venkatasubbiah

### Errata

Read in 2, 28: *vacýámāna*; 3, 34: Grassmann; 9, 26: *uśatīr*; 15, 26: with; 16, 3: *tanvāḥ*; 16, 11: *dhenūm*; 30, 18: *śocīṣā*; 32, 1: *adarśi*; 63, 30: *Nālāyanī*; 88, 1: *śīsum*; 103, 31: *evāncna havīṣā yakṣi devān*; 124, 2: *devīḥ*; 131, 27: referred; 139, 25: *divyā*; 145, 12: *āśāvó*; 149, 12: *saniṣyāvah*; 174, 32: (after Śvet. Up. 3, 18): *navadvāre pure dchī haṁso lclāyate bahiḥ*; Brh. Up. 2, 5, 18; 196, 28: Āpastamba; 211, 4: 8, 15, 8 (instead of 1, 15, 1); 236, 11: *smād-diṣṭi*; 249, 13: *pība*; 272, 23: 3, 12, 1 (instead of 3, 11, 1).

## Contents

							Page
§ 1. <i>nītya</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
2. <i>śunām</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	50
3. <i>indrascnā</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	61
4. <i>śagmā</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	72
5. <i>svāsara</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	82
6. <i>arali</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	100
7. <i>dān</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	116
8. <i>pṛthak</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	136
9. <i>yakṣām</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	150
10. <i>ābhva</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	197
11. <i>admasād</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	211
12. <i>nirckā</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	223
13. <i>smāddiṣṭi</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	234
14. <i>paḍbhīh</i>	....	....	....	....	....	....	262
Indexes ....	....	....	....	....	....	....	287





# VEDIC STUDIES

§ 1

*nitya*

This is a very familiar word that occurs about thirty-eight times in the RV and very frequently in the other Vedic texts and in later literature. The commentators, Indian as well as European, are at one in interpreting this word as (1) *svīya*, *sahaja*, own, and (2) *dhruva*, lasting, constant, perpetual, uninterrupted, imperishable, eternal, etc. In assuming the second of the above two meanings for this word in the RV, the commentators have been no doubt guided by the circumstance that the word *nitya* has that meaning in later texts. But as a matter of fact, this latter meaning is not appropriate and does not yield good sense in a number of passages—for instance, in 1, 66, 1 : *āyūr nā prāṇo nityo nā sūnūḥ* and 1, 185, 2 : *nityam nā sūnūm pitrōr upāsthe dyāvā rākṣatam pṛthivī no ābhvāt* where *nityam sūnūḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *dhruvaḥ ātmajaḥ*, and by Ludwig as 'ein überlebender Sohn' (1, 66, 1) and 'lebender Sohn'; in 1, 166, 2 : *nityam nā sūnūm mādhu bibhrata ūpa krīṇanti krīṇā vidátheṣu ghṛīṣvayah* where *nityam sūnūm* is translated by Ludwig as 'einen nicht absterbenden Sohn'; in AV. 7, 109 : *kāḥ pṛṣnim dhenūm vārunena dattām ātharvaṇe sudúghām nityavatsām*, Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5 : *enām śīśuḥ krandat y ā kumāra enām dhenuḥ krandatu nitya-vatsā* and *ibid.* 3, 2, 8 : *āsyandantām dhenavo nitya-vatsāḥ* where the expression *nitya-vatsā dhenuḥ* is explained as 'cow with constant calf' by Whitney (*AV. Translation*) and 'unceasingly fertile cow' (SBE. 29, 93) and 'immer fruchtbare Kuh' and 'beständig fruchtbare Kuh' by Oldenberg (*Ind. Stud.* 15, 71); and in 10, 39, 14 : *ny āmrkṣāma yósaṇām nā márye nityam nā sūnūm tánayam dádhanāḥ* where *nitya* is found as the *tertium comparationis* in a simile.

The other meaning 'own' is still less appropriate here ; and it therefore becomes clear that in these and other similar passages the word *nitya* has a meaning different from the two mentioned above.

What this meaning is, can be found out with the help of 1, 66, 1 ; 1, 166, 2 and 10, 39, 14, all which verses contain similes with *nitya* as tertium comparationis. In the first of these verses it is said that Agni is *nitya* as a son (*sūnú*) ; in the second, that honey (*mádhu*) is *nitya* as a son (*sūnú*) ; and in the third, that a hymn of praise (*stóma*) is *nitya* as a son (*sūnú*). A comparison therefore of the adjectives which these words—*sūnú*, *mádhu*, *stóma* and *agní*—receive in the RV, will show what characteristics are common to the things denoted by them and will thus determine the sense of *nitya*.

Of these words, *sūnú* receives the following adjectives, —*trayayāyya*, *p r i y á*, *márjya*, *viśāvan*, *śúci*, *suśéva*, *hṛdya* and *nitya* ; and *mádhu*, the following,—*ádhiḡartya*, *ásnāpinaddha*, *kāmya*, *górjika*, *ghṛtá*, *cāru*, *tridhātu*, *divyá*, *daivya*, *pakvá*, *pāriṣikta*, *púṣkare niṣikta*, *prátibhṛta*, *p r i y á*, *madirá*, *vāraṇá*, *sāraghá*, *sukṣāya*, *sutá*, *sonyá*, *spārhá* and *nitya* ; while *stóma* has the following adjectives—*ákṣitoti*, *agriyá*, *ántama*, *ántara*, *ápūrvya*, *ámānda*, *amṛta*, *uruvyác*, *étaśa*, *éva*, *kāmya*, *krátumān*, *giyámāna*, *gír* (?), *dṛśika*, *dyutádyāman*, *dyumnín*, *dhanasā*, *nāmasvān*, *nāvajāta*, *nāvya*, *nūtana*, *purutáma*, *pūtá*, *pūrvyá*, *p r é ṣ ṭ h a*, *mádhumattama*, *madhyamá*, *mānasā vāyámāna*, *mandín*, *mahát*, *ratnadhātama*, *rudríya*, (?), *vānivan*, *vājāyan*, *vāhiṣṭha*, *vidúṣā árdhya*, *sāntama*, *śasyámāna*, *śukrá*, *śúci*, *śūṣá*, *śūṣyá*, *satrājít*, *sādhú*, *sidhrá*, *suvrktí* (?), *haviṣmān*, *hṛdā taṣṭá*, *hṛdispṛk*, and also *nitya*.

It will be seen that the only adjective (besides *nitya*) common to the three words *sūnú*, *mádhu* and *stóma* is *priyá* (in the case of *stóma*, we find instead of *priyá* its superlative form *préṣṭha*) and the only characteristic that is common to the things denoted by these words is

*priyatva*. *priyá* is used as an epithet of *agní* also in 1, 143, 1 ; 5, 23, 3 ; and 6, 1, 6, while Agni, further, is called *priyāṇām prēṣṭhaḥ* once and *purupriyāḥ* many times. Thus the only adjective (beside *nitya* whose meaning we are engaged in finding out) and the only characteristic that are common to the above-mentioned four words and the things denoted by them, are *priya* and *priyatva*<sup>1</sup> ; which makes it probable that *nitya* means *priyá* in the above passages. The probability, in this instance, is converted into certainty by the parallelism of *priyá* and *nitya* in 1, 91, 6c : *priyástotro vānaspátih* and 9, 12, 7a : *nityástotro vānaspátih*.

*nitya* thus means *priya*, dear, pleasing, beloved, favourite. It has this meaning in the following passages :

1, 73, 4 : *tám tvā náro dāma ā nityam iddhám*  
*ágne sácanta kṣitīṣu dhruvāsu |*  
*ádhi dyumnám ní dadhur bhūry asmin*  
*bhāvā viśvāyur dharūṇo rayīṇām ||*

" Men have worshipped in their stable dwellings, O Agni, thee that art dear and flaming ; they have placed much splendour in him. Do thou become the bearer of riches, the vivifier of all." Compare the many passages where Agni is called *priyá*, namely, 1, 26, 7 ; 1, 75, 4 ; 1, 91, 3 ; 1, 128, 7-8 ; 1, 143, 1 ; 2, 4, 3 ; 5, 1, 9 ; 5, 23, 3 ; 6, 1, 6 ; 6, 2, 7 ; 6, 16, 42 ; 6, 48, 1 ; 7, 16, 1 ; 8, 84, 1 ; and also 6, 15, 6 (*priyām-priyam*) ; 1, 186, 3 and 8, 84, 1 (*prēṣṭham*) and 8, 103, 10 (*priyāṇām prēṣṭham*) ; compare also the passages where he receives the epithet *purupriyá* (see Grassmann, s.v.) and *mandrá* (see *ibid.*, s.v.).

7, 1, 2 : *tám agním áste vásavo ny ṛṇvan*  
*supraticákṣam ávase kútaś cit |*  
*dakṣāy yo dáma āsa nityaḥ ||*

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been felt by Grassman also who in 1, 66, 1, has translated *nityo ná sánūḥ* as ' wie eigener Sohn, lieb.' Sāyaṇa too, similarly explains *nityam ná sánūm* in 1, 166, 2, as *nityam aurasam priyam putram iva*.

“The bright ones, for their protection from everything, set him down in the dwelling, Agni, beautiful to look at, who sat down in the house, dear and capable.” The verse occurs in the first hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala whose authorship is ascribed to the Vasiṣṭhas; and as the word *vásiṣṭha* is the superlative of the word *vásu*, Sāyaṇa is perhaps right in saying that the word *vāsavaḥ* here refers to the Vasiṣṭhas.

3, 25, 5 : *ágne apām sám idhyase duroṇé*  
*nítyaḥ sūno sahaso jātavedaḥ |*  
*sadhásthāni mahāyamāna ūtí ||*

“Thou, the glorifier of dwelling-houses with thy protection, the beloved, art kindled in the abode of the waters, O Agni Jātavedas, son of strength.”

5, 1, 7 : *prá nú tyám vípram adhvaréṣu sādhuṃ*  
*agním hótāram īlate nāmobhiḥ |*  
*ā yás tatāna ródasī ṛtēna*  
*nítyam mṛjanti vājīnam ghṛtēna ||*

“They worship him with adorations, Agni, the wise, the hotṛ, the ornament of the sacrifices, who extended the two worlds according to divine ordinance. They adorn (him), the beloved (like a) race-horse, with ghee.”

10, 12, 2 : *devó devān paribhūr ṛtēna*  
*vāhā no havyám prathamás cikivān |*  
*dhūmáketuḥ samídhā bhāṛjiko*  
*mandró hótā nityo vācā yájiyān ||*

“The god (*sc.* Agni) encompasses the gods; bear thou, (O Agni), our offering (to the gods) according to divine ordinance, thou that art knowing, the first, smoke-bannered and with brightness as thy ornament (when kindled) with fuel, the pleasing beloved hotṛ that worshippest (the gods) better (than human hotṛs) with thy voice.” Compare 6, 1, 6: *saparyēnyaḥ sá priyó vikṣv*  
*agnír hótā mandró ní śasādā yájiyān | tām tvā vayám*  
*dāma ā didivāmsam úpa jñutādho nāmasā sadema and*

1, 26, 7: *priyó no astu viśpátir hótā mandró várcnyah* where the expression *priyó mandró hótā* corresponds to *nītyo mandró hótā* in this verse. Compare also 1, 44, 3: *adyā dūtām vṛṇīmahe vāsum agnīm purupriyām | dhūmāketum bhārjikam vyūṣṭiṣu yajñānām adhvaraśrīyam ||*

1, 66, 1: *rayir ná citrā sūro ná saṁdṛg*  
*āyúr ná prāṇó nītyo ná sūnúḥ ||*

“(Agni), brilliant like wealth, (effulgent) like the sun in appearance, vivifier like the *prāṇa* (the life-breath), dear like a son.” Compare 1, 69, 5: *putró ná jātó raṇvó duroṇé* “pleasing in the house like a son that is born.”

3, 15, 2: *tvām no asyā uśá-o vyūṣṭau*  
*tvām sūra údite bodhi gopāḥ |*  
*jānmeva nītyam tánayam juṣasva*  
*stómam me agne tanvā sujāta ||*

“Become our protector when this dawn dawns and the sun rises; cherish, O Agni well-born of thy own self, this (dear) praise of mine as a father (cherishes) his dear son.” I follow Sāyaṇa in understanding *jānman* as father in spite of its being accented on the root-syllable; compare 7, 54, 2: *pitéva putrān prāti no juṣasva* and 10, 22, 3: *pitā putrām iva priyām*. Compare also 5, 42, 2 and 10, 119, 4 *putrām iva priyām*. To *nītyam stómam* here corresponds *priyām bráhma* in 1, 75, 2; 5, 42, 2; 5, 85, 1; *priyām mánma* in 6, 68, 9; 10, 54, 6; 10, 96, 11; 2, 41, 18; *priyā manīṣā* in 6, 67, 2; *présthā matih* in 7, 88, 1; *présthā suṣṭulih* in 4, 43, 1; *présthām námah* in 7, 36, 5; and *présthah stómah* in 7, 34, 14; *mandrá gīḥ* in 7, 18, 3 and *mandrá hṛdāḥ* in 8, 43, 31.

10, 39, 14: *etām vām stómam aśvinav akarmā-*  
*takṣāma bhṛgavo ná rátham |*  
*ny āmṛkṣāma yóṣaṇām ná márye*  
*nītyam ná sūnúm tánayam dádlānāḥ ||*

“We have made this praise for you, O Aśvins; we have cut them (into shape) as Bhṛgus a chariot.

Holding it (carefully) as (parents do) a dear son, we have polished and embellished it as (one adorns) a woman for a young man."

1, 185, 2: *bhūrim dvé ācarantī cārantam*  
*padvāntam gārbham apādi dadhāte |*  
*nītyam nā sūnūm pitrōr upāsthe*  
*dyāvā rākṣatam prthivī no ābhvāt ||*

"The two, unmoving and footless, bear much offspring that has feet and moves. Like a dear son in the lap of his parents—protect us, O Heaven and Earth, from the evil being." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse; the meaning is, 'O Heaven and Earth, protect us from the evil being and give us shelter as parents shelter a dear son in their lap and ward off from him all harm.' Compare 6, 75, 4: *māteva putrām bibhṛtām upāsthe | āpa śātrūn vidhyatām samvidāne.*

7, 1, 21: *tvām agne suhāvo raṇvāsamḍṛk*  
*sudītī sūno sahaso didīhi |*  
*mā tvé sácā tánaye nītya ā dhan*  
*mā vīró asmān nāryo ví dāsīt ||*

"Thou, O Agni, art easy to invoke and of pleasing appearance; shine with bright gleams, O son of strength. Let not evil befall our dear son (when he is) with thee; may we not want a valorous son."

1, 166, 2 *nītyam nā sūnūm mādhu bibhrata ūpa*  
*krīṇanti krīṇā vidātheṣu ghṛṣvayaḥ |*  
*nākṣanti rudrā āvasā namasvīnam*  
*nā mardhanti svātavaśo haviṣkṛtam ||*

"Carrying honey that is dear as a son, the swift terrible (Maruts) bound forward in battles. The sons of Rudra come with protection to the adorer; they, strong of themselves, do not injure him that offers oblations (to them)." The 'honey' (*mādhu*) that the Maruts are here represented as carrying is without doubt the same with which they besprinkle the earth; compare 5, 54, 8:

*pīnvanty útsam yád ināso ásvaran vy úndanti prthivīm mādhuvo ándhasā. mādhu* receives the epithet *priyá* in eight passages; see Grassmann, S. V. *priyám* (n.); cp. also *kāmyam mādhu* in 9, 72, 2. With the first pāda, *nityam ná sūnūm mādhu bibhrata úpa*, compare *nityam ná sūnūm tánayam dúdkhānāḥ* in 10, 39, 14 explained above.

7, 1, 12 : *yám aśvī nityam upayāti yajñám  
prajāvantam svapatyám kṣáyam nah |  
svájanmanā śéśasā vāvṛdhānám ||*

This verse is obscure ; I understand it as a continuation of the preceding verse<sup>1</sup>, ' May we not sit down in the empty dwelling of men : may we not sit round thee without son, without offspring ; (may we sit) in houses full of children, O thou that makest houses to prosper ' and translate : "(May we sit down in) our dear dwelling with good offspring, with children, which is prospering with issue born of us, which is the seat of sacrifices, and to which (Agni), who has horses, goes." I follow Sāyaṇa in taking *yajñám* as an adjective of *kṣáyam* and meaning *yajñāśraya*. There seems to be no doubt that *yajñá* is an adjective here of *kṣáya*, and that being so, it can be best interpreted here as *yajñāśraya* or *yajanīya*. The words *yajñá* and *kṣáya* occur together again in 1, 132, 3, which, too, is obscure. As regards *aśvī*, Oldenberg's observations (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 4) that it refers to a human and not to a god do not seem to me to be convincing ; and I still think that it refers to a god, to wit, Agni. Compare 5, 6, 1 (explained below) which describes Agni as ' the home to which the swift horses go, ' that is, as the treasure-house of horses ; compare also 5, 6, 2.

8, 31, 5 : *yā dāmpatī sūmanasā sunutá ā ca dhāvataḥ |  
dévāso nityayāśīrā ||*

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<sup>1</sup> *mā śúne agne ní śadāma nṛṇām  
māśéśaso 'vīratā pári tvā |  
prajāvatīṣu dúryāsu durya .*

“The husband and wife, O gods, who thinking al press and wash (Soma and mix) with pleasing admixtu The admixture referred to is that of milk, sour r (*dadhi*) or barley; compare 9, 101, 8: *sám u priyā anū; gāvo mādāya ghṛīṣvayaḥ* where the admixture of n *gāvaḥ*, receives the epithet *priyā*.

4, 4, 7: *séd agne astu subhúgaḥ sudānurv*  
*yás tvā nityena havīṣā yá ukthaiḥ |*  
*pīpriṣati svā āyuṣi durqñé*  
*vīśvéd asmai sudīnā sāsad iṣṭiḥ ||*

“May he, O Agni, be fortunate and rich v wishes to sacrifice to thee with pleasing oblations a hymns in his house through his life. Let all (days) fortunate days for him—such is the prayer.” The meaning of *sudānu* is not clear: Oldenberg translates (*SBE.*, 46, p. 331) as ‘blessed with good rain,’ Grassma (*Ueber.*) as ‘reich an Gut’ and Geldner (*Glossar*) ‘reich-beschenkt.’ There is no doubt that the two l mentioned meanings express very nearly what the p must have had in his mind; and I have therefore, default of a more accurate knowledge of the meaning the word, here rendered it as ‘rich.’ With regard *nityena havīṣā*, compare *priyām havīḥ* in 10, 86, 12. *priyātamaḥ havīḥ* in 9, 34, 5 and *jūṣṭam havīḥ* in 3, 59

1, 66, 5: *durókaśociḥ krátur ná nityo*  
*jāyéva yónāv úram víśvasmai ||*

“(Agni), of unaccustomed brilliance, dear like ideal, like a wife in the house, ready for everything.”

8, 75, 6: *tásmai nūnám abhidyave vācā virūpa nitya*  
*vṛṣṇe codasva suṣṭutīm ||*

“Send forth now, O Virūpa, a well-made (hymn praise with thy dear pleasing voice towards the str (Agni), the heavenly (?).” Regarding *nityā vāk* h compare *mandrā vāk* in 8, 100, 11.



9, 12, 7 : *nityastotro vānaspātir*  
*dhīnām antāḥ sabardūghaḥ |*  
*hinwāno mānuṣā yugā ||*

“(Soma), the lord of the forest, fond of praises, who milks nectar amidst the praise-hymns and stimulates the generations of men.” As mentioned above, to *nityastotro vānaspātīḥ* here corresponds *priyāstotro vānaspātīḥ* in 1, 91, 6.

5, 6, 1 : *agnīm tāṃ manve yó vásur*  
*āstām yām yānti dhenávaḥ |*  
*āstām árvanta āśāvóstām nityāso vājīna*  
*iṣām stotṛbhya ā bhara ||*

“I praise that Agni who is a Vasu, to whom the milch-cows go home, the swift horses go home, the dear patrons go home; bring food (nourishment) to thy praisers.” The word *vājīnaḥ* in the fourth pāda which I have translated as ‘patrons’ denotes the rich men who institute sacrifices, the *yajamānāḥ* as Sāyaṇa has correctly explained and not priests (Grassmann, *RV. Ueber*) or race-horses as Ludwig and Oldenberg (*SBE.*, 46, p. 379) think. This is shown clearly by the following verse, *só agnir yó vásur gr̥ṇe sām yām āyānti dhenávaḥ | sām árvanto raghudrúvaḥ sām sujātāsaḥ sūrāya iṣām stotṛbhya ā bhara* which is parallel to the preceding one and where the fourth pāda mentions explicitly the *sujātāsaḥ sūrāyaḥ*.

1, 71, 1 : *úpa prá jinvann usatīr usántām*  
*pátim ná nityām jánayaḥ sániḷāḥ |*  
*svásāraḥ śyāvīm áruṣīm ajuṣrañ*  
*citrām ucchāntīm uśásam ná gāvāḥ ||*

“The loving (women) have stimulated (to activity) their lover as wives in the same bed (literally, in the same nest) stimulate (to amorous activity) their dear husband. The sisters have cherished the Dark and the Bright as the cows have cherished the brightly dawning Dawn.” The ‘loving women,’ *usatīḥ*, denote in all probability, the prayers that are addressed to Agni—

who is referred to here by the word *uśántam*—and that are supposed to arouse him to activity, so that Agni will bring the gods to the sacrifice, carry offerings to them, etc.; see Bergaigne II, p. 68. The import of the second half-verse is obscure; see however Oldenberg, *SBE.*, 46, p. 75 f. and *RV. Notcn* I, p. 73. With regard to *nítayam pátim* compare *júṣṭam pátim* in 9, 97, 22; *ād īm āyan vāram ā vāvasānā júṣṭam pátim kalāśe gāva indum* where I believe, differing from Grassmann (s.v. *vāś*), that the word *vāvasānāḥ* should be derived from the root *vas* (to wish, to desire; *vaśa kántau*) and be interpreted in the same sense as *uśatīḥ* in this passage and in 1, 62, 11. Compare also 1, 62, 11 and the verse that follows here, 1, 140, 7.

1, 140, 7 : *sá samstīro vṛṣṭīrah sām grbhāyati*  
*janānn evā janatir nítya ā śaye |*  
*pūnar vardhante āpi yanti devyām*  
*anyād vārpah pitrōḥ kṛṇvate sácā ||*

“He (*sc.* Agni) clasps (the plants, etc.) that have been laid together and have been laid out. Being intimate with them that are intimate with him, and being their dear (lover), he lies with them. They grow up again and attain to godhead; they together give another form to their parents (that is, to Heaven and Earth).”

1, 141, 2 : *prkṣó vāpuḥ pitumān nítya ā śaye*  
*dvitīyam ā saptāśivāsu mātṛṣu |*  
*trītiyam asya vṛṣabhāśya dohāse*  
*dāśa pramatiṁ janayanta yōṣaṇaḥ ||*

“The beloved (Agni), strong, rich in food, rests in the brilliant (sun); secondly, in the seven auspicious mothers; thirdly the ten women (that is, the ten fingers) have engendered him who looks after (us), in order to milk this bull.” I have followed here the suggestion of Grassmann and PW. about reading *saptā śivāsu* and *dāśa pramatiṁ* in the text though the text as it stands—*saptāśivāsu* (seven-fold auspicious) and *dāśapramatiṁ*

(having ten to care for him; cared for by ten)—is not unintelligible. The words *dvitīyam* and *ṭṭīyam* seem to indicate that the first pāda refers to the first 'birth' of Agni as the sun that shines in the sky. It is therefore possible to understand *vápuḥ*, brilliant, as referring to the bright sky (*dyoḥ*) and to translate "The beloved Agni, strong, rich in food, entered in the brilliant sky." With reference to the sun being 'rich in food,' compare Chān. Up. 3, 1, 1: *asau vā ādityo devamadhu* and also the first ten *khaṇḍas* of that chapter. In the first pāda, the author of the Padapāṭha has decomposed *nitya ā śaye* into *nityaḥ ā śaye*; and the translation given above follows this view. But the words *dvitīyam ā sapṭśivāsu mātṛṣu* that follow seem to indicate that *nitya* too should be regarded as a locative so that the *padaccheda* would be *nitye ā śaye*. The meaning in this case would be: "The brilliant (Agni), strong, rich in food, has entered in his own (place), that is, is in the sky": see Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 92 and the passages referred to therein.

10, 31, 4: *nityaś cākanyāt svápatir dāmūnā*  
*yásmā u devāḥ savitā jajāna |*  
*bhāgo vā góbbhir aryamém anajyāt*  
*só asmai cāruś chadayad utá syāt ||*

"May the friend of the house, lord of his self, the beloved, for whom god Savitr has begotten, be pleased; may Bhaga or Aryaman ornament him with kine (or, anoint him with butter); may he shine beautifully, may he be our shelter."

4, 41, 10: *śvyasya tmánā ráthyasya puṣṭér*  
*nityasya rāyāḥ pátayaḥ syāma |*  
*tā cakrāṇā ūtibhir návyasibhir*  
*asmatrā rāyo niyútaḥ sacantām ||*

'May we be lords of prosperity in horse-herds and chariots and of beloved wealth. The two, (Indra and Varuṇa) helping us newly with their protection—may

riches come to us (together, like) a team of horses." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse where the nominative dual *tā* has no predicate. With respect to *nītyasya rāyāḥ*, compare *priyām vāsu* in 4, 8, 3 and 7, 32, 15, etc., *vāmām vāsu* in 6, 10, 5 and *spārham vāsu* in 2, 23, 9, etc., *spṛhayāyyo rāyāḥ* and *puruspr̥ham rāyīm* (see Grassmann, s. v. *spṛhayāyya* and *puruspr̥h*).

8, 4, 18 : *pārā gāvo yāvasam kúc cid āghṛṇe*  
*nītyam rékṇo amartya |*  
*asmākam pūṣann avitā śivó bhava*  
*māmhīṣtho vājasātaye ||*

"O Pūṣan, brilliant, immortal, our dear wealth (namely), our kine, has gone away somewhere, to some meadow; be our gracious helper and most liberal in the winning of the wealth (that is, graciously recover them for us)." The prayer is addressed to Pūṣan, who is the recoverer of lost goods; see Macdonell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 36. With *nītyam rékṇaḥ* here, compare *priyām rékṇaḥ* in 10, 132, 3.

7, 1, 17 : *tvé agna āhāvanāni bhūrī-*  
*śānāsa ā juhuyāma nītyā |*  
*ubhā kṛṇvānto vahatū miyédhe ||*

"We, O Agni, being prosperous, offer to thee many pleasing oblations, bringing (to thee) both kinds of offerings." The meaning of the last pāda is obscure; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, p. 4. Regarding *nītyā āhāvanāni*, compare *nītyena havīṣā* in 4, 4, 7 explained above.

2, 27, 12 : *yó rājabhya ṛtanībhyo dadāṣa*  
*yām vardháyanti puṣṭáyaś ca nītyāḥ |*  
*sá revān yāti prathamó ráthena*  
*vasudāvā vidátheṣu praśastáḥ ||*

"Who offers to the kings, the leaders of *ṛta* (sc. the Ādityas), whom wished-for prosperities cause to thrive, he being rich and the giver of riches goes first in his chariot and is praised in the assemblies."

1, 148, 5: *ná yám ripávo ná riṣaṇyávo*  
*gárbhe sántam reṣaṇā reṣáyanti |*  
*andhā apaśyā ná dabhann abhikhyā*  
*nityāsa im pretāro arakṣan ||*

“Whom, while in the womb, enemies that want to injure and can injure, do not injure. The blind, not seeing, did not harm; his dear well-wishers protected him with watchfulness.” *pretārah*, which I have rendered as ‘well-wishers,’ literally means ‘lovers, pleasers.’ It is preferable to construe *abhikhyā*, literally, with sight, that is, with forethought, with watchfulness, with *arakṣan* rather than with *andhā apaśyā ná dabhan* (as Grassmann in *RV. Ueber*, Ludwig and Oldenberg, *SBE.* 46, p. 173 have done); for the translation ‘The blind, not seeing, did not injure him with their look’ hardly yields good sense. *nityāḥ pretārah* means the dear well-wishers of Agni (who is the deity of this verse), that is, the priests who are dear to Agni and to whom Agni is dear. Compare 1, 26, 7: *priyó no astu viśpátir hótā mandró váreṇyah | priyāḥ svagnáyo vayám.*

10, 7, 4: *sidhrā agne dhíyo asmé sánutrīr*  
*yám trāyase dáma ā nityahotā |*  
*rtāvā sá rohídaśvah purukṣúr*  
*dyúbhir asmā álabhir vāmám astu ||*

“Efficacious, O Agni, and winners (of wealth) are the prayers of us<sup>1</sup> whom thou, the dear hotṛ in the house protectest. He, the red-horsed, is holy and has much food: may everything pleasing happen to him (the sacrificer, *yajamāna*) every day.” In the light of the foregoing, I have taken *nityahotā* (with accent on *nitya*)

<sup>1</sup>Is it possible, however, that there is a word *asme* derived from the radix *a*—meaning this (*idam*)? The correlation of *yat* in this verse and in verse 8, 63, 12 would seem to show that this is the case with the word *asme* in these verses. Likewise, the *asme* in verses 1, 24, 7; 1, 71, 2; 1, 102, 2; 8, 51, 10 and 10, 61, 25 seems to be of this character.

as a *karmadhāraya* compound; it is, however, also possible to regard it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'he to whom the priest, *hotṛ*, is dear'; compare *priyāḥ svagnāyo vayām* in 1, 26, 7 cited above; compare also the following passage:

Maitr. Sam. 1, 1, 12: *nityahotāraṁ tvā kave dyumantaḥ sam idhīmaḥ* |

The corresponding passage in the other *Yajus-saṁhitās* reads *vītihotraṁ tvā kave dyumāntaṁ sām idhīmaḥ* | *ágne bṛhāntam adhvare* where *vītihotraṁ* means 'to whom the *hotra*, the office of the *hotṛ*, is dear'; compare Uvaṭa on VS. 2, 4: *vītiḥ abhilāśaḥ hotṛ-karmaṇi yasya saḥ vītihotraḥ*. I therefore take *nityahotāraṁ* here as a *bahuvrīhi* and translate: "We, the bright, kindle, O wise one, thee to whom the *hotṛ* is dear." Or is the word *hotṛ* here used in the abstract sense of *hotra* or *hotṛtva*—*bhāva-pradhāno nirdeśaḥ*? If so, *nityahotāraṁ* would be the exact equivalent of *vītihotraṁ*.

Śaṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5: *enām śiśuḥ krandaty ā kumāra enām dhenuḥ krandatu nitya-vatsā* |

"The child, the young one, cries near it; may the milch-cow to whom the calf is dear, low near it." The milch-cow lowing to her calf is a familiar figure of comparison even in the RV; compare 9, 12, 2: *abhi vīprā anūṣata gāvo vatsām nā mātāraḥ* | *īndram* 'the priests call out to Indra as mother-cows low to their calves'; 2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā nāktir uśāso vavāśirégne vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenávaḥ* 'to thee, O Agni, they called out at nights and at dawns as the milch-cows low to their calves in evenings'; 8, 88, 1: *abhi vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenáva īndraṁ gīrbhīr navāmahe* 'we call out to Indra with our hymns of praise as milch-cows low to their calves in evenings'; 6, 45, 25; 8, 95, 1; etc.

Ibid., 3, 2, 8: *enām śiśuḥ krandaty ā kumāra āsyandantām dhenavo nitya-vatsāḥ* |

“The child, the young one cries to it; may milch-cows to whom the calf is dear, pour forth (milk from their udders) near it.” Oldenberg has here interpreted the verb *syandantām* in the sense of ‘flocking’ (*SBE.*, 29, p. 93); but the reference here is to the return home of milch-cows after grazing in the pastures, eager to rejoin their calves and therefore lowing to them (this idea is expressed in *Śāṅkh. GS.* 3, 2, 5, explained above, by the word *kraṇḍatu*), and, as the Indian poets express it, with udders oozing milk; compare *Raghuvamśa*, 1, 84: (*anindyā Nandinī nāma dhenur āvavṛte vanāt*) . . . . *bhuvanṁ koṣṇena kuṇḍodhni medhycuāvabhṛthād api | prasaraveṇābhivarṣanti vatsāloka-pravartinā ||* and *Harṣacarita* (*Nirṇayasāgara* edition. p. 80): *divasa-vihṛti-pratyāgatam prasruta-stanam . . . . dhenu-vargam udgata-kṣīram*. Compare also 2, 34, 8: *dhenūr nā śīśve svāsareṣu pinvate jānaya rātāhaviṣe mahim iṣam* ‘they (sc. the Maruts) ooze with copious food for every man who has offered them oblations as a milch-cow oozes milk for her calf in evenings’; 10, 75, 4: *abhī tvā sindho śīśum in nā mātāro vāsrā arṣanti pāyascva dhenāvah* ‘they (the rivers) run towards thee, O Sindhu, as milch-cows, lowing, and with (oozing) milk, run to their calves’; 9, 94, 2: *dhīyah pinvānāḥ svāsare nā gāva ṛtāyāntīr abhī vāvasra indum* ‘the hymns of praise, following *ṛta*, lowed to Soma as cows overflowing (with milk) low (to their calves) in the evening’; 9, 68, 1: *āsiṣyadanta gāva ā nā dhenāvah | barhiṣādo vacanāvanta ūdhabhiḥ parisrūtam usriyā nirṇijam dhire*; and 9, 77, 1: *abhim ṛtasya sudūghā ghytaścūto vāsrā arṣanti pāyascva dhenāvah*; and 10, 31, 11: *prā kṛṣṇāya rūṣad apinvatódhaḥ*.

AV. 7, 109 (104), 1: *kāḥ pṛṣṇim dhenūm vāruṇena dattām ātharvane sudūghām nityavatsām | bṛhaspātinā sakhyām juṣāṇo yathāvaśām tanvāḥ kalpayāti ||*

“Who, enjoying companionship with *Bṛhaspati* shall at his will make use of the spotted milch-cow,

well-milking, fond of her calf, given by Varuṇa to Atharvan?" I understand *tanvāḥ* here as equivalent to *ātmanah* so that *tanvāḥ kalpayāti* means *ātmana upakalpayati*, 'makes ready for one's own use, that is, makes use of.' Whitney translates "Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati, shall shape its body at his will—the spotted milch-cow, well-milking." etc., which is unintelligible to me.

AV. 9, 4, 21 : *ayām pīpāna indra id*  
*rayīm dadhātu cetanīm |*  
*ayām dhenūm sudūghām nityavatsām*  
*vāsam duhām vipascitam parō divāḥ ||*

"Let this burly one, a very Indra, bestow conspicuous wealth; let this (one) (bestow) a well-milking cow, fond of (her) calf; let him yield inspired will from beyond the sky"

This closes the list of passages where *nitya* has the meaning *priya*: it has the meaning *svīya*, *sahaja*, 'own,' in the passages that follow:

RV 7, 4, 7: *pariśadyam hy āraṇasya rékṇo*  
*nityasya rāyāḥ pātayaḥ syāma |*  
*ná śéšo agne anyájātam asty*  
*áccetānasya mām pathó ví dukṣaḥ ||*

This verse is not quite clear; but I believe that Yāska's interpretation of it (*Nirukta*, 3, 2) and of the verse that follows, is on the whole correct. I therefore translate, following him, "The wealth left by a stranger is to be avoided; may we be lords of our own wealth. There is no (such thing as) offspring that is begot by another. Do not foul the paths for me that am ignorant." As pointed out by Yāska, the 'wealth' mentioned in the first half-verse means 'son'; compare *śeṣaḥ* in the second half-verse and in the verses that precede and follow this. The last pāda means, "Do not, hiding the right path, point out a wrong path to me who am already ignorant; do not misguide me by saying that another's son can be *my* son."



8, 56, 2: *dāśa mähyaṁ paulakratāḥ*  
*sahāsrā dāśyave vṛkaḥ |*  
*nītyād rāyó amañhata ||*

“Pautakrata, the Cutter of the Foe, has given me ten thousand from his own wealth.”

9, 92, 3: *prá sumedhā gātuvíd viśvādevaḥ*  
*sómaḥ punānāḥ sáda eti nītyam |*  
*bhúvad viśveṣu kávyēṣu rántā*  
*nu jánāṃ yatate páñca dhīraḥ ||*

“Soma, the wise, the knower of ways, used (?) of all gods, being purified goes to his own seat; he takes pleasure in all praises; the wise one stimulates the five folks.”

1, 148, 3: *nītye cin nú yám sádane jagṛbhre*  
*prásastibhir dadhiré yajñíyāsaḥ |*  
*prá sū nayanta gṛbháyanta iṣṭāv*  
*áśvāso ná rathyò rārahāṇāḥ ||*

“Whom the worshipful (gods) caught hold of in his own place, carried with praises, and holding him and speeding like the horses of a chariot led him in the sacrifice.” The reference here is to the original carrying off of Agni from his place in the highest heavens by Mātariśvan, Vivasvat, Bhṛgu, the devas, etc.; compare 10, 46, 9: *dyāvā yám agním pṛthivī janiṣṭām āpas tváṣṭā bhṛgavo yám sáhobhiḥ | ilēnyam prathamám mātariśvā devās tataksur mánave yájatram* and also Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 71. The word *yajñíyāḥ* refers to the deities above-named.

1, 140, 12: *ráthāya nāvam utá no gṛhāya*  
*nītyāritrām padvátim rāsy agne |*  
*asmākaṁ vīrāñi utá no maghóno*  
*jánāms ca yā pāráyāc chárma yā ca ||*

“Give us for chariot and for house, O Agni, a ship that has its own oars (that is to say, that is propelled of itself) and (moves on its own) feet, that will carry over

our sons and our patrons and our people, and that is a shelter."

5, 85, 7 : *aryamyàṁ varuṇa mitryàṁ vā*  
*sákhāyaṁ vā sádāṁ íd bhrátaraṁ vā |*  
*veśāṁ vā nítyaṁ varuṇāraṇaṁ vā*  
*yát sīm āgaś cakrīmā śiśráthas tát ||*

"Free us from the sin, O Varuṇa, that we have at all times committed against our companion, friend, acquaintance, or brother or our own neighbour or stranger."

7, 88, 6 : *yá āpír nítyo varuṇa priyāḥ sán*  
*tvām āgāṁsi kṛṇávat sákhā te |*  
*má ta énasvanto yakṣin bhujema*  
*yandhi śmā vípra stuvaté vārūtham ||*

"He, O Varuṇa, who being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil towards you,—may we not, being sinful feel (thy might), O mighty one. Grant, O thou that art wise, protection (literally, cover) to thy praiser." The *yáḥ* beginning the first half-verse has apparently no antecedent in correlation with it; but there does not seem to be any doubt that in reality it has for antecedent the plural *vayam* that is to be supplied in the third pāda; the meaning therefore is: "Though, O Varuṇa, I, being thy own dear friend and comrade, have sinned against thee, do not, O mighty one, make me suffer for it, but graciously become, thou that art wise (and therefore knowest that I am not solely responsible for such sins) the shelter and protector of me that am now praying to you." Compare in this connection the following two verses likewise addressed by Vasiṣṭha to Varuṇa—7, 87, 7 : *yó mṛḷáyāti cakruṣe cid āgaḥ* 'who (Varuṇa) is beneficent and gracious even to one that has committed sins against him' and 7, 86, 6 : *ná sá svó dákṣo varuṇa dhrútiḥ sá súrā manyūr vibhīdako ácittiḥ |*  
*ásti jyāyān kúnīyasa upāré svāpnaś canéd ānṛtasya*  
*prayotā* "It is not my own impulse, O Varuṇa; it is

predestination, drink, anger, dice, or ignorance (that has led me to sin); there is the elder close to the younger (who has to bear the responsibility, either for having prompted the sin or for not having prevented its commission); even sleep is the promoter of acts against the Law (*ṛta*)."

3, 53, 24: *imā indra bharatāsya putrā*  
*apapitvām cikitur ná prapitvām |*  
*hinvānty āśvam āraṇam ná nityam*  
*jyāvājam pāri nayanty ājau ||*

This verse is the last of a quartet of verses known as *vasiṣṭhadveṣiṇyaḥ* as they have been written, it is said, in disparagement of the Vasiṣṭhas. It is clear that the verse speaks of the stupidity of the Bharatas; but, for the rest, its exact sense has not yet been made out: see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* I, p. 256. I translate tentatively as follows: "These sons of Bharata, O Indra, know neither the time for resting nor that for going. They ride their own horse as if it were another's; in battle, they carry round ceremoniously the (bow) strengthened with bow-string." 'Riding their own horse as if it were another's' means, not so much 'so ungeschickt und dem Tier ungewohnt wie ein fremder Jockey' (Geldner in *I'ed. St.* 2, p. 160, n. 5) as 'using the horse unsparingly as if it were another's; not taking proper care of the horse'; for, it is natural on the part of the owner of the horse to use it carefully and not to beat it cruelly or make it strain its powers and go beyond its strength, while it is as natural for one who is not the owner to pay no attention to the horse or its capacity but to make it go as fast as it can be made by blows and other similar means to go. Compare the saying current in the Kannada country, *biṭṭi kudure āvarike cabbe*, 'another's horse, and a rod cut from the āvarike (*cassia auriculata*, Lin.; a shrub that is found almost everywhere; the rods cut from it are regarded as unusually tough) shrub

(to beat it with so as to make it go faster)' and the English proverb 'Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride it to death'. In the fourth pāda, the European interpreters have understood the word *jyāvāja* as referring to a horse and meaning 'strong (swift) as bow-string. This may perhaps be looked upon as an ordinary figure of speech in European languages in which things or persons are commonly described as being as tough or as strong as 'whipcord' or 'wire', as being 'wiry', etc.; but, I do not know of any instance in Indian literature where the horse is described to be as strong (or as swift) as bow-string. The idea in fact is, I believe, quite unknown and wholly foreign not only to Sanskrit literature but to other Indian literatures as well. I believe therefore that Sāyaṇa is right in regarding the word as an epithet of *dhanus* understood here. The verb *pari-ñī* does not mean simply 'to lead round; to carry round' a thing or person but to do so ceremoniously (hence, *pari-ñī* means also 'to marry' as in the ceremony the bride is led by hand thrice ceremoniously round the fire). The sense therefore of the fourth pāda is 'These stupid Bharatas, instead of using a bow, that is strung and ready for use, in battle to shoot arrows with, carry it ceremoniously in procession'! Compare the first pāda of the preceding verse, *ná sāyakasya cikite janāsaḥ* 'an arrow was not thought of, O men (by these Bharatas when they brought the strung bow to the battle-field).'

This closes the list of passages in the RV in which the word *nītya* occurs. It will have been noticed that I have interpreted this word either as (1) *svīya*, *sahaja*, 'own' or as (2) *priya*, 'dear' and that such interpretation has everywhere yielded good sense. It is however true that the meaning (3) *dhruva* also (which the word *nītya* has in the Brāhmaṇas and in later literature) is not inappropriate in some of the above passages, for instance, in 4, 4, 7; 4, 41, 10; 9, 12, 7; 1, 73, 4 and 7, 1, 2; but I have felt it unnecessary to

adopt that meaning for the RV inasmuch as it is quite necessary to make use of the first two meanings in the RV and these two meanings are enough to explain all the passages (in the RV) in which the word *nitya* occurs. The assumption of the third meaning *dhruva* also for the RV would, in these circumstances, mean a needless multiplication of meanings.

As regards the first two meanings, too, it must be observed that in some passages it is difficult to choose between the two as either will do equally well in them. Thus, for instance, one can also interpret *nityam kṣāyam naḥ* in 7, 1, 12 as 'our own house', *nityena havīṣā* in 4, 4, 7 as 'by (his) own oblation', *nityayā vācā* in 8, 75, 6 as 'with (thy) own voice', *nityād rāyāḥ* in 5, 8, 2 as 'from (his) desirable wealth' and *nityam sūdaḥ* in 9, 92, 3 as 'beloved seat'. In such passages, I have preferred one of them to the other and chosen what seemed to me, considering the context, to be the better of the two meanings. I believe, however, that the poet must have had both meanings in his mind when he 'wrote' such passages, and that the more correct course to follow would be to make use of both of them together in the explanation—a course that is occasionally followed by Indian commentators.<sup>3</sup>

I can not say how the (third) meaning *dhruva* came to attach itself to the word *nitya*<sup>4</sup>; but it is easy to

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<sup>3</sup>I cite here some instances of this kind from Sāyaṇa's *Vedabhāṣya*. *pūriṣam*=*udakam*, 5, 55, 5; *pūriṣāt*=*pūrakāt maṇḍalāt*, 10, 27, 21; *pūriṣāt*=*sarvakāmānām pūrakāt udakāt*, 1, 163, 1; (Ved. St. 1, p. vi); *ātkah*=*vyāptah*, 8, 41, 7; *ātkam*=*rūpam*, 1, 122, 2; *ātkam*=*vyāptarūpam*, 10, 123, 7; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 193); *īriṇam*=*uṣarapradeśam*, 1, 186, 9; *īriṇam*=*nistrīṇam taṭākadeśam*, 8, 4, 3; *īriṇam*=*nistrīṇam uṣarasthānam Śatap. Br.*, 7, 2, 68; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 223); *drapsām*=*drutagāminam*, 8, 96, 14; *drapsāḥ*=*rasaḥ* 10, 17, 13; *drapsāḥ*=*drutagāmino rasaḥ*, 9, 106, 8; *ūrvāt*=*vistṛtāt*, 4, 12, 5; *ūrvāḥ*=*baḍabānalah*, 3, 30, 19; *ūrvā*=*vistṛtāgne*, *TS.* 5, 10, 6 (*Ibid.* 2, p. 269).

understand how the (second) meaning *priya* has developed from that of *svīya*, *sahaja*. What is one's 'own', is, in this world, generally, 'dear' to one, which explains how *nitya* originally meaning *svīya*, *sahaja* came to have the secondary meaning *priya* also.

It is remarkable that the converse also is true: what is 'dear' to one will generally be acquired and made one's 'own' or at least, will be the object of endeavours to acquire and make one's 'own'. Hence it has also come about that the word *priya* itself which primarily means 'dear, pleasing, agreeable,' etc., has the secondary meaning 'own'.

The number of passages in the Vedas where *priya* has the sense 'own' is indeed considerable; but, so far, in two or three passages only have the Vedic interpreters recognised that *priya*=own. One such passage is 1, 82, 2: *ákṣann amīmadanta hy āva priyā adhūṣata*

<sup>4</sup>It is however of interest to note in this connection the analogy of the words *rata* and *nirata*. Both these words signify 'fond of, taking pleasure in' primarily, but they have also the secondary meaning 'engaged in; always or incessantly engaged in'. *tapo-rata* or *tapo-nirata* thus means 'fond of tapas, taking pleasure in performing tapas' and also 'engaged in tapas, always or incessantly engaged in performing tapas'; similarly *dharma-nirata*, *dhyāna-nirata*, *yajñādhyana-nirata* mean 'fond of dharma, of dhyāna, of yajña and adhyayana' and also 'unceasingly or always engaged in the practice of dharma, of dhyāna, of sacrifice and study.' These words are thus synonyms of *tapo-nitya*, *dharma-nitya*, *dhyāna-nitya* and *yajñādhyayana-nitya* which too have the above two meanings.

It seems to me therefore that, as in the case of *rata* and *nirata*, so in the case of *nitya* also, the meaning 'always, unceasing' is a secondary meaning derived from that of 'dear'. One to whom the practice of *tapas* or the performance of sacrifice is pleasing will naturally endeavour to devote as much time as possible to such pleasing work; and hence the development of the secondary meaning 'always, unceasingly' from that of 'dear'.

Max Müller, in SBE. 32, p. 215, gives another explanation of how *nitya* came to signify 'always, unceasingly'; this explanation however seems to me to be unsatisfactory.

where Sāyaṇa explains *priyāḥ* as *svakīyās tanūḥ avādihūṣata akampayan* ; Ludwig, too, translates *priyāḥ* here as 'sich' while Grassmann (*RV. Ueber.*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 83) adhere to the meaning 'dear'. Another passage is 1, 114, 7: *mā naḥ priyās tanvò rudra ririṣaḥ* (with which should be compared the parallel passage from AV. 11, 2, 29: *svām tanvām rudra mā ririṣo naḥ*) where Sāyaṇa adheres to the meaning 'dear', but which has been correctly explained by Bergaigne (III, 152) as 'nos propres corps', by Ludwig as 'unsere eigenen leiber' and by Max Müller (*SBE.* 32, p. 423) as 'our own bodies'. Max Müller has also (*op. cit.*, p. 425) added the following note: "Priya, dear, used like Gk. philos, in the sense of our own. See Bergaigne III, 152". With these exceptions,<sup>5</sup> the word *priya* is everywhere explained as 'dear,' 'agreeable,' 'pleasant,' etc., by the exegetists, though, as said above, in a considerable number of passages, the word *priya* is used, not in that sense at all, but in that of 'own'. This is specially the case in the passages which contain compounds with *priya* as a component word:

8, 27, 19: *yád adyá sūrya udyati*  
*priyakṣatrā ṛtām dadhú |*  
*yán nimrúci prabúdhī viśvavedaso*  
*yád vā madhyāmdine diváh ||*

"Whether you uphold ṛta, O ye that are independent, when the sun rises to-day, or when he goes down, or at midday or at daybreak (literally, at the time of awaking from sleep), O ye that possess all wealth." The hymn in which this verse occurs is addressed to the *Viśve*

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<sup>5</sup> Further, Oldenberg has suggested (*SBE.*, 46, p. 62) that *priyá* may have the sense 'own', in 1, 67, 6. Not only in 1, 67, 6 but in 3, 5, 5; 3, 7, 7 and 4, 5, 8 does *priyá* in my opinion, mean 'own.' The sense of these passages, however, is obscure and I have therefore been unable to include them in those that follow, where *priyá*='own'.

*devāḥ* or All-Gods to whom therefore the vocatives *priyakṣatrāḥ* and *viśvavedasaḥ* refer. *priyakṣatrāḥ* here does not mean 'whose rule is agreeable (freundlich herrschend; PW, Grassmann, Ludwig)'; but *priya* here = own, *sva*, and *priyakṣatrāḥ* = *svakṣatrāḥ*, 'ruling themselves, independent'. Compare 5, 48, 1: *kād u priyāya dhāmne manāmahe svākṣatrāya svāyaśase mahé vayām* which is likewise addressed to the *Viśve devāḥ* who are here called *svākṣatrāḥ*; compare also 1, 165, 5 where the Maruts are described as *svākṣatrāḥ*. *priyakṣatra* is thus a synonym of *svākṣatra*, *svarāj*, *svāpati*.

8, 71, 2: *nahī manyúḥ paúruṣeya īše hí vaḥ priyajāta |  
tvám íd asi kṣápvān ||*

"The anger of man, O (Agni) born of thyself, has no power over you; thou indeed art the ruler of the earth." *priyajāta* here does not mean 'als freund geborener' (Ludwig) or 'erwünscht geboren' (Grassmann), but is equivalent to *svajāta*, 'born of his own self', an epithet that is frequently applied to Agni; compare *agne tanvā sujāta* in 3, 15, 2; compare also the epithet *tanūnapāt*, 'son of self' used of Agni.

10, 150, 3: *tvām u jātavedasaṁ viśvāvāraṁ gr̥ṇe dhiyā |  
ágne devāñ á vaha naḥ priyávratān  
mṛlikāya priyávratān ||*

"I praise thee, Jātavedas, that hast all desirable things, with hymn. Bring to us, O Agni, the gods, whose are the ordinances—for grace, (those) whose are the ordinances." *priyávratān* = *svavratān*, those whose are the ordinances; that is, either (1) those who follow their own ordinances (cp. 3, 7, 7: *devā devānām ánu hí vratā gúḥ* 'the gods followed the ordinances of the gods') and not those of others; that is to say, those who are independent, sovereign; or what comes to the same thing, (2) those from whom come the divine ordinances which are followed in the universe; compare



1, 164, 50: *yajñéna yajñám ayajanta devās tāni dhārmāṇi prathamāny āsan*; 3, 56, 1: *ná tā minanti māyíno ná dhīrā vratā devānām prathamā dhruvāṇi*; 1, 36, 5: *tvé víśvā sám gatāni vratā dhruvā yāni devā ákr̥vata*, and the expression *daivyaṇi vratāni* (see Grassmann, s.v. *vrata*).

1, 140, 1: *vediśáde priyádhāmāya sudyúte  
dhāsim iva prá bharā yónim̐ agnáye |  
vāstreṇeva vāsaya mánmanā súcim̐  
jyotíratham̐ śukrávarṇam̐ tamohānam ||*

“ Offer, like food, a place for Agni, who sits on the altar, whose are the laws and who shines well. Adorn with the hymn, as if with an ornament, (Agni), the bright, the destroyer of darkness, the brilliant-coloured, who has a chariot of splendour”. *priyádhāmāya* = *svadhāme* = *svavratāya* in either of the meanings given above. Compare 3, 21, 2 where Agni is addressed as *svádharmān* ‘following his own laws’; regarding the second sense, compare the epithet *vratapāḥ* (see Grassmann, s. v.) that is applied to Agni; compare also 7, 6, 2: *agnér vratāni pūrvyā mahāni*; 2, 8, 3: *yásya* (sc. *agner*) *vratām ná miyate*; 1, 69, 7: *nákīṣ ta (agneḥ) etā vratā minanti*; and 6, 7, 5: *vaiśvānara táva tāni vratāni mahāny agne nákir ā dadharṣa*. In the second pāda the word *iva* has really the force of *ca* and *dhāsim iva yonim̐ prabhara* means *dhāsim yonim̐ ca prabhara*.

There can be no doubt that the word *priyádhāman* has this same meaning in AV. 17, 1, 10 also: *tvám na indrotibhiḥ śivābhiḥ śántamo bhava | āróham̐s tridivām divó gṛṇānāḥ sōmapītaye priyádhāmā svastāye . . .* “Do thou, O Indra, be most beneficent to us with propitious aids—(thou) ascending to the triple heaven of the heaven, praised (that is, invoked) for drinking the Soma and for well-being, sovereign . . . ”

TS. 1, 3, 8, 1: *révatīr yajñápatim̐ priyadhā viśata!* The Maitr. Saṁ. (1, 2, 15; p. 25, l. 7) and the Kāth. Saṁ. (3, 6; p. 25, l. 13) read *revati predhā yajñāpatim̐*

*āviśa*, while the Vāj. Sam̐. (6, 11) reads *révati yájamāne priyám dhā āviśa*. It seems clear therefore that *priya* has become shortened to *pre* in *predhā* and that the *anusvāra* in *priyamdhā* is an intruder.<sup>6</sup> The word itself is formed from *priya* with the suffix *dhā* (see Whitney's *Grammar*, § 1104). *priyadhā* here is equivalent to *svadhā*, and I translate: "O ye that have riches, enter into the sacrificer according to your wont". The commentator Bhaṭṭabhaṣkara takes *révatiḥ* as an epithet of *paśvavaya-vāḥ* while Uvaṭa and Mahidhara interpret *revati* as referring to *vāk*.

*priya*, uncompounded, has the meaning *sva*, 'own', in the following passages:—

1, 114, 7: *mā no mahāntam utá mā no arbhakām  
mā na úkṣantam utá mā na ukṣitām |  
mā no vadhiḥ pitáram mótá mātáram  
priyá mā nas tanvò rudra ririṣaḥ ||*

"Do not injure our great or our small ones, our growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, or our own selves, O Rudra".

1, 154, 5: *tád asya priyám abhí pātho aśyām  
náro yátra devayávo mādanti |  
urukramásya sá hí bāndhur itthā  
viṣṇoḥ padé paramé mādхва útsaḥ ||*

"May I attain the abode, where pious people rejoice, of him whose steps are broad. He is thus our relation; there is a spring of honey in the supreme abode of Viṣṇu". *priyam pāthaḥ* here has the same meaning as

<sup>6</sup> The accent on *-dha* in the Vāj. Sam̐. causes difficulties; and Uvaṭa and Mahidhara hence regard *priyamdhā* (*ā viśa*) as two words, *priyam* and *dhāḥ* (= *dhehi*). But the Padapāṭha of the Maitr. Sam̐., too, (see Schröder's footnote 8 on p. 25) has *predhāḥ | priyamdhā iti priyam—dhāḥ*; and there is thus no doubt that *priyamdhā* (not *-dhāḥ*; the author of the Padapāṭha is wrong in reading *-dhāḥ*) is one word and that it is accented on the last syllable.

*priyam dhāma* in the passages given below ; it means the own abode of Viṣṇu, *viṣṇoḥ paramām padām* as the fourth pāda expresses it, the Viṣṇuloka of later times.

1, 162, 2 : *yān nirṇijā rékṇasā prāvṛtasya*  
*rātīm gr̥bhītām mukható náyanti |*  
*súprāñ ajó mémyad viśvárūpa*  
*indrāpūṣṇóḥ priyām úpy eti pāthah ||*

“ When they lead (it) in front of the offering covered with wealth and jewels (that is, of the sacrificial horse), the goat of all forms, bleating, goes directly forward to the own abode of Indra and Pūṣan ”.

10, 15, 5 : *úpahūtāḥ pitārah somyāso*  
*barhiṣyèṣu nidhīṣu priyèṣu |*  
*tá ā gamantu tá ihá śruvantu*  
*ádhi bruvantu tè'vantu asmān ||*

“ The Soma-deserving fathers are called (to appear and seat themselves) in their own seats on the barhis. May they come here, hear us, speak assuringly to us and protect us.” This verse, as also the two preceding verses are addressed to the *barhiṣadaḥ pitarah*, the ‘pitṛs that sit on the barhis’; hence the prayer to them to take their own seats on the barhis.

9, 55, 2 : *índo yáthā táva stávo yáthā te jātúm ándhasaḥ |*  
*ní barhíṣi priyé sadaḥ ||*

“ O Indu, according to the praise addressed to thee (that is, the prayer) and to what has happened to thy juice, seat thyself on thy own barhis (that is, on thy own seat on the barhis)”.

8, 13, 24 : *tám imahe puruṣtutām*  
*yahvám prasnābhīr ūtibhīḥ |*  
*ní barhíṣi priyé sadad ādha dvitā ||*

“ We pray to him who is often-praised, who is active with protection extending from old time ; may he seat himself on his own seat on the barhis ”.

1, 85, 7 : *tè'vardhanta svátavaso mahitvanā*  
*nākam tasthūr urú cakrire sādah |*  
*viṣṇur yād dhāvad vṛṣanam madacyutam*  
*vāyo ná sīdann údhi barhiṣi priyé ||*

“They that are naturally mighty grew with their might; they went to heaven and made a large seat. When Viṣṇu ran to the strong, intoxicating (Soma), they seated themselves in their own barhis like birds (in their nests).”

1, 189, 4 : *pāhī no agne pāyúbhir ájasrair*  
*utá priyé sādana ā śusukvān |*  
*mā te bhayām jaritāram yaviṣṭha*  
*nūnām vidan mā parām sahasvaḥ ||*

“O Agni, do thou, shining in thy own abode, protect us with unwearied protections; O thou that art strong, the youngest, may not (thy) praiser suffer from any fear of thee or from any other fear.” The expression *priyé sādana ā śusukvān* here corresponds exactly to *dīdivāmsam své dāme*, 2, 2, 11; *dīdivim (vārdhamānam) své dāme*, 1, 1, 8; *gopā ṛtasya dīdihī své dāme*, 3, 10, 2; *svā ā yás túbhyaṁ dāma ā vibhāti*, 1, 71, 6; *yó dīdāya sāmiddhaḥ své duroṇé*, 7, 12, 1; and *dīdyan mārtyeṣv ā | své kṣāye śucivrata* in 10, 118, 1.

10, 13, 4 : *devébhyaḥ kām avṛṇīta mṛtyúm*  
*prajāyai kām amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇīta |*  
*bṛhaspátim yajñám akrīvata ṛṣim*  
*priyām yamás tanvām prāṛirecit ||*

“He held back death from the gods; he did not hold back immortality from men; he made Bṛhaspati the sacrifice and the ṛṣi; Yama let our own body (or self) remain”.

9, 73, 2 : *samyák samyāñco mahiṣā aheṣata*  
*sīndhor ūrmāv údhi venā avivīpan |*  
*múdhora dhārābhir janáyanto arkám it*  
*priyām índrasya tanvām avivṛdhan ||*

“The beautiful strong ones have moved well forward ; the loving ones have moved in the wave of the sea ; with the streams of mead producing a song. they have made Indra's own body grow.”

10, 132, 5 : *asmin sv ètác chàkapūta éno  
hité mitré nígatāu hanti vīrān |  
avór vā yád dhāt tanúšv  
ávaḥ priyāsu yajñīyāsv árvā ||*

“Śakapūta kills the brave men that have committed this sin in respect of this well-disposed Mitra when the courser placed his strength in the own worshipful bodies of these two (sc. of Mitra and Varuṇa)”. The meaning of this verse is not clear and widely-divergent explanations are given of it by Sāyana and Ludwig. It is difficult to say who is denoted by the term *arvā* (courser) in pāda d and if the word *śakapūta* is really a proper name.

2, 20, 6 : *sá ha śrutá indro nāma devá  
ūrdhvó bhuvan mánuṣe dasmátamaḥ |  
áva priyāni arśasānāsya sāvāñ  
chīro bharad dāsāsya svadhāvān ||*

“He, the god known by the name of Indra, of most wonderful might, raised himself aloft high over man ; he, the mighty conqueror, brought down the own head of the evil-doing dāsa.”

8, 12, 32 : *yád asya dhāmani priyé samicīnāso úsvaran |  
nābhā yajñāsya dohānā prādhvaré ||*

“When the united ones (priests?) made a sound (song?) in his own abode, in the navel of the sacrifice, by milking in the sacrifice.”

6, 67, 9 : *prá yád vām mitrāvaruṇā spūrdhān  
priyā dhāma yuvádhitā minānti |  
ná yé devāsa óhasā ná mártā  
áyajñasāco ápyo ná putráḥ ||*

“When they, O Mitra and Varuṇa, become jealous of you and violate the own ordinances laid down by you—they, who are by repute no gods and no mortals, who, like the sons of Apī, are no performers of sacrifice.” The second half-verse is not clear; in the first half-verse, the expression *priyā dhāma yuvádhitā* ‘the own ordinances laid down by you,’ is equivalent to ‘your own ordinances; the ordinances laid down by you in person’.

3, 55, 10 : *viṣṇur gopāḥ paramām pāti pāthah  
priyā dhāmāny amṛtā dādāhānah |  
agniḥ tā víśvā bhúvanāni veda  
mahād devānām asuratvām ékam ||*

“Viṣṇu, the protector, rules over the supreme realm, supporting his own immortal abodes; Agni knows all those worlds. The asura-hood (might ?) of the gods is alone great.”

4, 5, 4 : *prá tāñ agnir babhasat tigmájambhas  
tápiṣṭhena sóciṣā yāḥ surādhāḥ |  
prá yé minánti vāruṇasya dhāma  
priyā mitrásya cétato dhruvāñi ||*

“May Agni, who has sharp jaws and who makes good gifts, eat up with his hottest flames those who violate the own immutable ordinances of Varuṇa and of Mitra who observes (or, who knows).”

1, 87, 6 : *śriyāse kúm bhānúbhiḥ sám mimikṣire  
té raśmibhis tá ykvabhiḥ sukhādāyah |  
té vāśimanta iṣmīno ūbhīravo  
vidré priyāsya mārutasya dhāmnah ||*

“For their glory, they (*sc.* the Maruts) united themselves with bright reins and brilliant (ornaments); they, with beautiful khādīs and axes, impetuous, fearless, knew of their own Marut troop”. The meaning of the fourth pāda is not clear as the word *dhāma* used in it is ambiguous.

9, 12, 8 : *abhī priyā divās padā sómo hinvānó arṣati |*  
*vīprasya dhārayā kavīh ||*

“The wise Soma being impelled flows swiftly with (his) stream (and with the hymn of praise) of the priest to his own places in heaven”.

9, 38, 6 : *eṣā syá pitāye suto hárir arṣati dharmasīh |*  
*krāndan yónim abhī priyām ||*

“This strong, yellow (Soma), that is expressed for being drunk, rushes crying to his own place.”

4, 45, 3 : *mádhvāḥ pibatām madhupébhir āsábhīr*  
*utá priyām mádhune yuñjāthām rátham |*  
*ā vartanīm mádhunā jinvathāḥ pathó*  
*dṛtīm vahethe mádhumantām ásvinā ||*

“Drink, O ye Ásvins, of mead with your mead-drinking mouths; yoke your own chariot for the purpose of (drinking) mead; you stimulate with mead the course of the path; you carry a leather-bag of mead”.

6, 51, 1 : *úd u tyác cákṣur máhi mitráyor āñ*  
*éti priyām váruṇayor údabdhām |*  
*ṛtasya śuci darśatām ánikām*  
*rukmo ná divá úditā vy àdyaut ||*

“This great own eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, which cannot be deceived, arises; the pure and beautiful face of ṛta has blazed forth in rising like a brilliant jewel in the sky”.

4, 52, 7 : *ā dyām tanoṣi raśmibhir*  
*āntárikṣam urú priyām |*  
*uṣaḥ śukréṇa śocíṣā ||*

“Thou extendest the heaven with thy rays and also thy own broad sky with thy radiant effulgence, O Uṣas’ . The sky, *antarikṣa*, is called “Uṣas’ own” probably because Uṣas is an *antarikṣa-sthāniya-devatā* and the *antarikṣa* thus belongs to her.

1, 124, 4 : *úpo aharṣi śundhyúvo ná vákṣo*  
*nodhā ivāvīr akrta priyāni |*  
*admasān ná sasatō bodháyanti*  
*śaśvattlamāgāt púnar eyúṣiṇām ||*

“ The breast (that is, the upper body) of Uṣas has come to view like that of a resplendent (young) woman ; she has made manifest her own (greatness) like *nodhas* : waking the sleepers like the hotṛ, she has come again, the most frequent comer of those that come again ”. After *priyāni*, own, I supply the word *mahimnaḥ* following 7, 75, 1 : *vy úṣā āvo divijā ṛtēnāviṣkṛvānā mahimānam āgāt*. The same word, or, if a neuter noun be deemed necessary, the word *mahitvam* or *mahitvanam*, it seems to me, should be supplied also in 4, 4, 5 : *āvīṣ kṛṇuṣva daivyaṇy agne (daivyaṇi=daivyaṇi mahitvāni ; daivyaṇi vīryāni ; Sāyaṇa supplies tejāmsi)* and 2, 23, 14 : *āvīṣ tát kṛṣva yád úsat ta ukthyām (yat=yat mahitvam ; yad vīryam ; Sāyaṇa has yad vīryam)*. *nodhas* still remains an obscure word and its meaning is unknown.

*priya* means ‘own’ in the following passages also : TS. 5, 1, 5, 2 : *chāndāṇsi khálu vā agnēḥ priyā tanūḥ | priyāyaivainam tanúvā páridadhāti* “ the *chandāṁsi*, indeed, are the own body (self) of Agni ; he covers him with his own body (self) ” ; *ibid.*, 5, 1, 6, 2 : *eṣā vā agnēḥ priyā tanúr yád ajā priyāyaivainam tanúvā sāṅsījati* “ this namely, the she-goat, is verily the own body (self) of Agni ; he unites him with his own body (self) ” ; *ibid.*, 5, 7, 3, 4 : *eṣā khálu vā agnēḥ priyā tanúr yád vaiśvānarāḥ | priyāyām evainam tanúvām prātiṣṭhāpayati* “ this, namely, Vaiśvānara, is verily Agni’s own body ; he establishes him in his own body ” (compare *vaiśvānara iti vā agnēḥ priyam dhāma* “Vaiśvānara is Agni’s own body” in Tāṇḍya Br. 14, 2, 3 ; and Ait. Br. 3, 8, 6-7) ; TS. 5, 3, 10, 3 : *etád vā agnēḥ priyam dhāma yád ghṛtām priyēṇaivainam dhāmnā sámardhayati* “ this namely, ghee, is verily the own form of Agni ; he makes him thrive with his own



form"; KS. 20, 1 : *agner vā eṣā vaiśvānarasya priyā tanūr yat sikatāḥ* "this, namely, sand, is verily the own body of Agni"; *ibid.*, 21, 3 : *priyayaivainam tanvā samardhayati* "he makes him thrive with his own body (form)".

Likewise, it means 'own' in VS. 2, 17 : *agnēḥ priyām pāthó 'pītam* "Go to the own abode of Agni"; in VS. 8, 50 : *agnēḥ, indrasya, viśveṣām devānām, priyam pātho 'pīhi* "Go to the own abode of Agni, Indra, Viśvedevas" (compare *svam pātho apītha* 'go to your own abode' in ĀŚS. 1, 11, 8); and AV. 2, 34, 2 : *pramuñcānto bhūvanasya réto gātūm dhatta yājamānāya devāḥ | upākṛtaṁ śāsamānam yád ásthāt priyām devānām ápy etu pāthah* "Do ye, releasing the seed of being, show the way to the sacrificer, O gods; what, brought hither and immolated, stood up, living, let it go to the own abode of the gods (compare TS. 3, 1, 4, 3 : *upākṛtaṁ śāsamānam yád ásthāi jīvām devānām ápy etu pāthah* and TS. 5, 1, 11, 4 : *áśvo ghytēna tmānyā sūmakta úpa devāñ ytuśāḥ pātha etu*). And similarly *priya* means 'own' in TS. 1, 5, 3, 2-3 : *saptá te agne samídhaḥ saptá jihvāḥ saptá śṣayaḥ saptá dhāma priyāṇi* and in *ibid.*, 1, 5, 4, 4 : *saptá sapta vai saptadhágnēḥ priyās tanúvah*.

In the same way there can be no doubt that *priya* generally means 'own' in the expression *priyam dhāma* which occurs fairly frequently in the Yajus-samhitās and Brāhmaṇas and is interpreted by Böhtlingk and Roth (s.v. *dhāma*) as 'gewohnte Heimath, Lieblingsstätte, Lieblingssache, Liebhaberei, Lieblings-name,-preise, -person' and by Geldner (*Glossar*, s.v. *dhāma*) as 'das liebe Wesen, die liebe Persönlichkeit, Lieblingsname, die liebe Person,' etc.; thus :

Kauṣ. Up. 3, 1 : *pratardano ha daivodāsir indrasya priyam dhāmopajagāma yuddhena pauruṣeṇa ca | tam hendra uvāca pratardana varam te dadānīti* ||

"Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's own abode by means of battle and valour. Indra said to him,

'Pratardana, I grant thee a boon.' " *Indrasya priyam dhāma* here does not mean 'Freundschaft, Gunst, Liebe' of Indra (as Geldner would have it) or 'gewohnte Heimath' of Indra (PW), but 'Indra's own abode', the domain that he rules over and that is known as Indraloka or *svarga* in later literature which Pratardana won through his valour in battle (see Macdonell in *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Pratardana*). The allusion here is to the well-known belief of the Indian writers that those who die in battle fighting valiantly go to heaven; compare Manu, 7, 89: *āhaveṣu mitho 'nyonyam jighāmsanto mahīkṣitaḥ | yudhyamānāḥ param śaktyā svargam yānty aparāṇimukhāḥ*, and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, 10, 3 (p. 365): *vedeṣv apy anuśrūyate—samāpta-dakṣiṇānām yajñānām avabhytheṣu sā te gatiḥ yā sūrāṇām iti . . . yān yajñasaṅghais tapasā ca viprāḥ svargaiṣiṇaḥ pātracayaś ca yānti | kṣaṇena tān apy apiyānti sūrāḥ prāṇān suyuddheṣu parityajantaḥ*.

Ait. Br. 6, 20, 9-10: *etena vai vasiṣṭha indrasya priyam dhāmopāgacchat | sa paramam lokam ajayat | upcndrasya priyam dhāma* (Aufrecht's edition reads *lokam* here which is incorrect) *gacchati jayati paramam lokam ya evam veda ||*

"By means of this (*sūkta*; hymn of praise), verily, Vasiṣṭha attained the own abode of Indra, he won the highest world; he who knows this goes to Indra's own abode, wins the highest world."

And similarly, in *ibid.*, 5, 2, 5: *etena vai grtsamada indrasya priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; 5, 2, 12: *gayah plāto viśveṣām devānām priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; 1, 21, 6: *etābhir hāsvinoḥ kakṣivān priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6: *etēna vai vatsaprīr bhālandanō 'gneḥ priyam dhāmāvārundaha*; *ibid.* 5, 2, 3, 4: *etēna vai viśvāmitro 'gneḥ priyam dhāmāvārundha*; and in *ibid.*, 5, 3, 11, 3: *agneḥ priyam dhāma, ṛtūnām priyam dhāma*, I take *priya* in the sense of 'own' and *dhāma* in the sense of 'abode.' With regard to the latter word, the meaning of

‘ Persönlichkeit, Wesen, Form ’, suggested by Geldner is however not unsuitable in these passages which can be translated as “ By means of this (hymn of praise) Gr̥tsamada attained verily the own personality of Indra ”, etc.; for, in similar passages in later literature that describe the virtue of hymns of praise (*stotra*) or of mantras, we read not only that the author of the hymn of praise and the others that made use of the *stotra* or mantra in question, (compare *uṣa agneḥ, indrasya, priyaṁ dhāma gacchati ya evaṁ veda* in the above passages) attain the world of the particular deity (*sāyujyaṁ gacchati, salokatām āpnoti*) that is addressed by the *stotra* or mantra but also that they become such deity itself (*sarūpatām āpnoti*). Compare for instance, Lalitāsahasra-nāmastotra (Nirṇaya-sāgara ed., v. 289 ff.): *pratimāsaṁ paurṇamāsyāṁ ebhir nāmasahasrakaiḥ | rātrau yaś cakra-  
rājasthām arcayet paradevatām || sa eva lalitārūpas tadrūpā  
lalitā svayam | na tayoṛ vidyate bhedo bhedakṛt pāpakṛd  
bhavet ||*; Avyaktopaniṣat, Kh. 7: *ya imāṁ vidyām adhīte  
. . . . dehānte tamasaḥ paraṁ dhāma prāpnuyāt | yatra  
virāt nṛsimho’vabhāsate . . . . tatsvarūpa-dhyānaparā  
munaya ākalpānte tasminn eva līyante*; Tripurātāpini  
Upaniṣat, 4: *om namaś śivāyeti yājuṣamantropāsako  
rudratvaṁ prāpnoti*; and Rāmarahasyopaniṣat, Ch. 5: *rāmamantrāṇāṁ kṛtapuraścaraṇo rāmacandro bhavati*.

*priya* means ‘ own ’ in the other passages too given in PW. Thus, VS. 1, 31: *dhāma nāmāsi priyāṁ devānām* “ Thou art the gods’ own form and name ”; *ibid.*, 2, 6: *priyeṇa dhāmnā priyāṁ sāda āsīda* “ Sit in thy own seat in thy own form ”; *priyā dhāmāni* and *priyā pāthāmsi* in VS. 21, 46 ff. mean ‘ own abodes, own domains ’; Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devā juṣṭās tanūḥ priyāni dhāmāni sārdham samavadadire* “ The gods took together portions from their own selves, from their own powers ”; *ibid.*, 10, 1, 3, 11: *etad dhāsya priyaṁ dhāma yad yaviṣṭha iti* “ This is indeed his own name, that of ‘ youngest ’ ”; and *ibid.*, 2, 3, 4, 24: *āhutayo vā asya priyaṁ dhāma* “ The

oblations are indeed the own essence of him "; *priyenai-vainam dhāmnā samardhayati, saṁsparśayati, pratyeti*, etc.) " With his own body (or form, or nature, etc.) he makes him thrive (covers him, etc.)."

The word *svā*, which, like *nītya*, primarily means 'own,' seems likewise to be used in the sense of *priya* in some passages. Instances of such usage are:

2, 5, 7 : *svāḥ svāya dhāyase*

*kṛṇutām ṛtvīg ṛtvījam |*  
*stóman yajñām cād āram*  
*vanémā varimā vayām ||*

" May the beloved (Agni), the priest, for the sake of dear food, make ready the (human) priest; may he then control the praise and sacrifice; we have offered (oblations)". The sense of this verse is obscure and 1, 31, 13 where the words *dhāyase*, *vanoṣi* and *mantram* occur, scarcely helps here. But *sva* seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here; compare the passages given above where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding *svam dhāyaḥ* compare 10, 112, 4 : *priyēbhīr yāhi priyām ānnam āccha* and note the repetition of the word *priya* here similar to that of *sva* in the above verse. Compare also 1, 58, 2 : *ā svām ādma yuvāmāno ajāraḥ . . atasēṣu tiṣṭhati* where too perhaps *sva* means 'dear'.

3, 31, 21 : *ādediṣṭa vṛtrahā gópatir gā*

*antāḥ kṛṣṇāñ aruṣaír dhāmabhir gāt |*  
*prā sūnṛtā diśāmāna ṛtēna*  
*dúras ca víśvā avṛṇod āpa svāḥ ||*

"The destroyer of Vṛtra, the lord of cows, has given cows; with his bright troops he penetrated into the dark ones. Bestowing riches rightly, he has opened all the dear doors." To interpret the last pāda as 'he has opened all his own doors' hardly yields any sense; I therefore take *svāḥ* here as equivalent to *priyāḥ*. Compare 1, 142, 6 : *pāvakāsaḥ puruṣpṛho dvāro devīr asaścātaḥ*; 7, 17, 2 : *utā dvāra uśatīr ví śrayantām* and

10, 70, 5 : *vī śrayadhvam . . . . usatīr dvārah* where the doors are called 'much-beloved, dear'. The 'dear' doors are, evidently, those that give access to the chamber or other receptacle that contains wealth (compare, *rāyo durah* in 1, 68, 10 : *vī rāya aurnod dūrah purukṣūh*); and the epithet 'dear' seems to be transferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the RV. as being 'dear'; compare 4, 41, 10 given above and the passages cited in connection therewith.

10, 120, 8 : *imā bráhma bṛhāddivo vivakt-  
 īndrāya sūśám agriyāh svarṣāh |  
 mahó gotrásya kṣayati svarājo  
 dūraś ca víśvā avṛṇod ápa svāh ||*

"These mighty hymns Bṛhaddiva speaks out for Indra. He, the foremost, the winner of light, is the lord of the mighty and independent stone; he has opened all the dear doors". By the 'mighty and independent stone' is here meant the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra with which he opens the doors of the receptacle containing riches and which is elsewhere called *adri*, *parvata* and *aśman*: compare 4, 22, 1 : *yó* (sc. *indraḥ*) *áśmānam śávasā bíbhrad éti*; 6, 22, 6 : *manojúvā svatavaḥ párvata-tena | ácyutā cid viṣitā svojo rujāh*; and 1, 51, 3 : *saséna cid vimadāyāvaho vāsv ājāv ádriṁ vāvasānásya nartáyan*. The epithet *svarāj*, 'independent,' indicates perhaps that the Vajra is irresistible and overcomes all.

8, 70, 11 : *anyávratam ámānuṣam  
 áyajvānam ádevayum |  
 áva svāh sákhā dudhuvīta párvataḥ  
 sughnāya dásyūm párvataḥ ||*

"May the dear friend Parvata shake off him who follows another's ordinance, who is not human, who does not sacrifice, who is impious; and may Parvata (shake off) the Dasyu for swift death (?)".

3, 31, 10: *sampáśyamānā amadann abhi svām*  
*pāyaḥ pratnāśya rétaso dúghānāḥ |*  
*ví ródasī atapad ghóṣa eṣām*  
*jāté niṣṭhām ádadhur góṣu vīrān ||*

“Seeing and milking the milk of the old one’s semen, they (the Aṅgirasas) gladdened the dear (Indra). Their shout warmed the two worlds; they placed him the foremost in what is born (that is, in the creation); they placed heroes amidst the kine (or, in the kine)”. I understand this verse as referring to the winning of the sun which also is one of the exploits of Indra in association with the Aṅgirasas; see Macdonell’s *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 61 and 143. The ‘old one,’ *pratna*, is Dyaus or Heaven and his ‘seed,’ *retah*, is the sun; compare 8, 6, 30: *ād ít pratnāśya rétaso jyótiṣ paśyanti vāsarām*; 1, 100, 3: *divó ná yāśya rétaso dúghānāḥ*; 5, 17, 3: *divó ná yāśya rétasā bṛhác chócanty arcāyaḥ*; and 10, 37, 1: *divás putráya sūryāya śamsata*. The second pāda therefore means, ‘making the sun appear’. In the first pāda, the word *svam* has been interpreted by Geldner (*Kommentar*, p. 51), following Sāyaṇa, as *svakīyaṁ godhanam* and the verb *abhi amadan* in the sense of ‘rejoicing’ (*Glossar*; sich freuen über). The combination *abhi mad* is however met with in another verse of the RV, namely, in 1, 51, 1: *abhi tyām meśām puruhūtām ṛgmīyam índraṁ gīrbhír madata* where it has the sense, not of ‘rejoicing’ but of ‘gladdening’. I believe that this is the sense here also, and that *amadann abhi svam* means ‘they gladdened the dear (Indra),’ that is to say, that they praised him; compare 1, 62, 5: *grṇānó aṅgirobhir dasma ví var uśāsā sūryeṇa góbhir ándhaḥ*. Compare also 1, 142, 4; 5, 5, 3; 8, 50, 3; and 8, 98, 4 where the epithet *priya* is used of Indra. In the last pāda, the expression ‘they placed heroes in the kine (or, amidst the kine)’ is not very intelligible to me; Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* 1, p. 241) suggests that it

means that 'they exerted themselves in such a way that the heroes were no more cut off from the possession of cows.'

AV. 6, 83, 4 : *vīhi svām āhutim juṣāṇó mānasā  
svāhā mānasā yád idám juhómi |*

"Consume the dear oblation, enjoying with the mind, hail, as now I make oblation with the mind."

AV. 3, 19, 3 : *nīcāiḥ padyantām ádhare bhavantu  
yé naḥ sūrīm maghāvānam pṛtanyān |  
kṣiṇāmi bráhmanāmítrān  
ún nayāmi svān ahám ||*

"Downward let them fall, let them become inferior, who may fight against our liberal patron. With my incantation, I destroy the enemies ; I raise those that are dear (to me)." Though the interpretation of *svān* as ' (my) own people ' is not unsuited here, the contrast between *amitrān* and *svān* shows that the latter word has here the sense of ' those that are dear to me ; those whom I like ; friends.'

AV. 7, 77, 5 : *taptó vām gharmó nakṣatu sváhotā  
prá vām adhvaryúś caratu páyasvān |  
mádhvō dugdháśyāśvinā tanāyā  
vītām pātām páyasa usrīyāyāḥ ||*

"The *gharma* is heated for you ; let the dear hotṛ approach ; let the adhvaryu, rich in milk, move forward. Eat ye, O Ásvins, of this milked sweet ; drink ye of this cow's milk." The word *tanāyāḥ* is obscure and I have followed Ludwig here in translating it as ' this.' Regarding *sváhotā*, compare what has been said above under *nītyahotā*. Compare also 7, 73, 2 : *ny ù priyó mánuṣaḥ sādī  
hótā nāsatyā yó yájate vāndate ca | aśnītām mádhvo aśvinā  
upākā ā vām voce vidáttheṣu práyasvān* where the expressions *priyo hotā*, *aśnītām madhvo aśvinā*, and *prayasvān* are parallel to *svahotā*, *madhor aśvinā vītam*, and *prayasvān* (for, this is the correct reading, found, as is noted by

Whitney in his *Translation*, in the Kausika-sūtra and the Vaitāna-sūtra and also in Sāyaṇa's commentary, and not *payasvān*) in the above verse.

10, 21, 1 : *āgnīm ná svāvṛktibhir hótāraṁ tvā vṛṇīmahe |*  
*yajñāya stīrṇábarhiṣe ví vo máde*  
*śīrám pāvakáśociṣaṁ vívakṣase ||*

“As Agni, we, with pleasingly-cut (hymns of praise), choose thee hotṛ for the sacrifice where the *barhis* is spread—thee that art burning and that hast clear light.” Compare *priyā taṣṭāni*, pleasingly-cut, pleasingly-fashioned (limbs) in 10, 86, 5 and the verses 1, 130, 6 ; 5, 2, 11 ; 5, 29, 15 ; 5, 73, 10 ; etc., which speak of hymns being ‘cut’ or ‘fashioned’ into shape. Concerning the refrain, *ví vo máde . . . vívakṣase*, which is not here translated, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 221 and the literature referred to therein.

8, 32, 20 : *píba svádhainavānām utá yás túgrye sácā |*  
*utáyām indra yás táva ||*

“Drink of these (Somas that are mixed) with pleasing milk; and what is with Tugrya and that which is here, O Indra, are thine.” *svádhainavānām* is equivalent to *priyadhainavānām* : the reference is to the milk which is added to the Soma juice. Compare 9, 101, 8 : *sám u priyā anūṣata gāvo mādāya ghṛṣvayaḥ | sómāsaḥ kṛṇvate patháḥ pávamānāsa indavaḥ* ; compare also 9, 32, 5 : *abhī gāvo anūṣata yóṣā jārám iva priyám* ; 9, 1, 9 : *abhī mām ághnyā utá śriṇánti dhenávaḥ śísum | sómam indráya pátave* ; 9, 9, 1 : *pári priyā diváḥ kavír váyāmsi naptyòr hitáḥ | sucānó yāti kavíkratuḥ*.

VS. 22, 19 : *ihá dhṛtir ihá svádhṛtiḥ svāhā |*

“Here steadiness; here pleasing steadiness, hail.”

In the above translations, I have assumed that the words *svāvṛkti*, *svádhainava* and *svádhṛti* have really the word *sva* as a component, in which case *priyavṛkti*, *priyadhainava* and *priyadhṛti* are the best equivalents



for them. I do not however feel certain that this assumption is correct; or rather, I feel inclined to believe that the word *sva* is not really a component of these words at all. We know that in Sanskrit there exist a number of words beginning really with *su-* but having a variant form beginning with *sva-*. As examples of such, I may cite the following from PW—*svagupta*, *svagr̥hītanāman*, *svadhā*, *svadhita*, *svadhiti*, *svastha*, *svabrahmanyā*, *svabhadra*, *svavāsini*, and *svarāṣṭra* (proper name of a people), *svapura* (name of a town), *svabhūmi* (proper name), and *svareṇu* (proper name) all which have also forms beginning with *su-* instead of *sva-*. The word *sujana* occurs in the form *svajana* in *Ind. Spr.* (II), 6672, *svajana-durjanyaḥ*, and it is remarked in PW ‘nicht selten werden *svajana* und *sujana* mit einander verwechselt.’ Similarly, the PW gives references to passages where the word *svaprakāśa* has the meaning ‘clear,’ that is, of *suprakāśa*. In the RV itself, we have the form *svadhā*, nectar, instead of *sudhā* and the form *svāyaśastaram* in 8, 60, 11 where the SV reads *suyaśastaram*. I am inclined to think that the words *svāvṛkti*, *svādhainava*, and *svādhṛti* also belong to this class and that they are but variants of the words *suṛkti*, *sudhainava* and *sudhṛti*. Of these latter, the word *suṛkti* occurs frequently in the RV. It is derived from the root *ṛc* in PW but I believe that it really comes from the root *vṛj* ‘to cut’ (compare the word *vṛkta-barhis*) and that the meaning is ‘well cut, well-fashioned’; see what has been said above under 10, 21, 1. I would therefore translate the passages 10, 21, 1; 8, 32, 20; and VS. 22, 19 as follows: “As Agni, we with well-fashioned (hymns) choose thee hotṛ for the sacrifice,” etc.; “Drink of these Somas that are well mixed with good milk,” etc.; and “Here steadiness; here good steadiness, hail!”. With regard to the VS passage, the commentator Uvaṭa, I may here observe, has paraphrased *svadhṛti* by *sādhudhṛti* which seems to show that he too regarded it as a variant of *sudhṛti*.

Wackernagel, in his *Altindische Grammatik* II, § 33b (p. 81), refers to the frequently-expressed opinion, the best exposition of which is by Zubaty' in KZ, 31, p. 52ff., that *su-* in compounds has, in addition to itself, an *ablaut* form *sva-*, and observes that the examples adduced by Zubaty' namely, *svadhā-sudhā*, *svadhiti-sudhiti*, and *svadhita-sudhita* are too few in number to justify such an opinion. The number of examples, however, is not, as he thinks, restricted to the three mentioned here ; for we have already met with two more examples above—*svāvṛkti-suvṛkti*, *svāyaśastara-suyaśastara* and we shall meet with some more presently. And, secondly, the statement that '*su-* has in addition to itself an *ablaut* form *sva-* in compounds' gives but a partial and incorrect representation of the real fact, namely, that in Sanskrit, and in the Vedic language also, there occur a certain number of words beginning with *su-* that have got variant forms beginning with *sva-* or, alternatively, that there occur a certain number of 'words beginning with *sva-* that have got variant forms beginning with *su-*. This does not mean that the first word in all such compounds is in reality *su* and that the form beginning with *sva-* is a variant of this; for there occur some compounds in which the first word is really *sva* and in whose case the form beginning with *su-* is a variant of such original form with *sva-*. Compare Tait. Up. 2, 7 : *asad vā idam agra āsīt | tato vai sad ajāyata | tad ātmānaṁ svayam akuruta | tasmāt tat sukṛtam ucyata iti* ; the word *sukṛta* here 'stands patently for *svakṛta* and is thus a variant of it ; compare Śaṅkara's commentary thereon : *sukṛtaṁ svayam-kartr ucyate* and Śaṅkarānanda's scholium, *sukṛtaṁ svārthe 'yam soḥ prayogaḥ | svena saṁskṛtāvat svakṛtam*. Compare also Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 1 : *eṣa vaḥ panthāḥ sukṛtasya loke* (Śaṅkara : *sukṛtasya svayam nirvartitasya karmaṇo loke*) ; ibid., 1, 2, 6 : *eṣa vaḥ puṇyaḥ sukṛto brahmalokaḥ* and also ibid., 1, 2, 10 : *nākasya prṣṭhe te sukṛte 'nubhūtvā imam lokam kīnataram vā viśanti* where too in all

probability *sukṛtaḥ*=*svakṛtaḥ*: and Kāṭha Up. 1, 3, 1: *ṛtaṁ pibantau sukṛtasya loke chāyām praviṣṭau parama parārdhe* where Śaṅkara has explained *sukṛtasya* as *svayam kṛtasya karmaṇaḥ*. It must therefore be understood that in the case of compounds that occur in two forms, one beginning with *su-* and the other with *sva-*, the original form may be either the one beginning with *su-* or the one beginning with *sva-*. And as a corollary, it has also to be admitted that in the case of compounds that occur in one form only, either beginning with *su-* or beginning with *sva-*, it is possible that such form beginning with *su-* or *sva-* may not be the original form of the word at all, but only a variant of the original form beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be.

In other words, when we meet with compounds with *su-* or *sva-*, it is desirable to investigate first if such compound occurs in both forms or in one form only. In the latter case, one should further find out which of the two words, *su* and *sva*, gives the better meaning for the compound in connection with the passage where it occurs and determine accordingly the original form of the word and its meaning and also whether the word occurs in the given passage in its original form or in a variant form. The same thing has to be done in the former case also; but if, as sometimes happens, both the words *su* and *sva* are found to give the better meaning, each in its own context, one should postulate two original forms, beginning with *su* and *sva* respectively, and interpret the words accordingly: if, on the other hand, one only of the two words, *su* and *sva*, is found to give a good meaning (or the better meaning) in all the passages (where the compound occurs in either form), one should postulate one original form (beginning with *su-* or *sva-* as the case may be) and regard the other form (beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be) as a variant of it and interpret the passages accordingly.

The bearing of the foregoing remarks may perhaps be better understood from a consideration of some

compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The words *svákṣatra-sukṣatrā* both occur in the RV; and the originality of the form *svákṣatra* is proved by the occurrence of the parallel word *priyakṣatra*; see above. One has therefore to consider if the word *sukṣatrā*, in the passages where it occurs, gives a better meaning when one regards it as occurring in its original form and therefore interprets it as 'having excellent dominion' (*śobhanam kṣatram yasya*) or when it is regarded as a variant of the word *svakṣatra* and therefore interpreted as 'whose is dominion' (*svam kṣatram yasya*), that is, 'ruling over others; sovereign.' Considering that the word *sukṣatrā* is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods, and that in their case, the meaning 'sovereign; ruling over others' is more appropriate and forceful than that of 'having excellent dominion,' I feel inclined to give preference to the latter of the above meanings and thus to regard *sukṣatrā* as a variant of the original form *svákṣatra*, which, too, be it noted, is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods. On the other hand, in the case of the words *suścandrā-sváścandra* both occurring in the RV, I consider that the interpretation 'well-shining' is, in every passage, to be preferred to that of 'shining of itself,' 'self-shining'; and I therefore regard *sváścandra* in 1, 52, 9, the only passage where it occurs, as equivalent to *suścandrā* and as meaning 'well-shining.' As regards the words *suhótṛ* (RV)—*sváhótṛ* (AV), the occurrence of the word *nítayahótṛ* (see p. 14 above) seems to show that the latter form (in AV. 7, 77, 5) is original and should be interpreted in the same way as *nítayahótṛ*, while the juxtaposition of the word *svadhvará* in 8, 103, 12: *yáh suhótā svadhvaráh* seems to show that here the interpretation "good *hótṛ*" gives the better meaning. I therefore regard both words as being in their original forms. Of the pair *sváyaśastara*, 'renowned of one's self' (RV)—*súyaśastara* 'having much renown' (SV), it is obvious

that the latter is the better meaning. I believe therefore that *sváyaśastara* in the RV is a variant of *súyaśastara* and means the same as that word, and likewise that the word *sváyaśas* occurring frequently in the RV, is a variant of, and has the same meaning as, *súyaśas*. Similarly, of the pair *sugopá* (having a good protector; well-protected)—*svágopa* (protected by one's self; self-protected), both occurring in the RV, the former meaning seems to be obviously better than the latter; and I therefore think it preferable to interpret *svágopa* in 10, 31, 10 (the only passage where the word occurs): *vyáthir avyathîḥ kṛṇuta svágopā*, as 'well-protected' and to regard it as a variant of the word *sugopa*; while, of the pair *suyúj* ('well-yoked') -*svayúj* ('yoking itself; yoked of its own self') both occurring in the RV, it is equally obvious that the latter meaning suits the context better than the former which is, when compared with it, a weak and colourless epithet. I therefore look upon the word *suyúj* (in the RV passages where it occurs) as a variant of, and having the same meaning as, *svayúj*. Compare the epithet *manoyúj*, which, like *suyúj*, is applied to hymns, horses, and chariots; and compare specially 1, 121, 12: *tvám indra náryo yāñ ávo nṛṇ tīṣṭhā vātasya suyújo váhiṣṭhān | yām te kāvyá uśánā mandīnam dād vrtrahūnam pāryam tatakṣa vājram*, with 1, 51, 10: *tákṣad yút ta uśánā sáhasā sáho ví ródasī majmánā bādhate śávah | á tvā vātasya nṛmaṇo manoyúja á pūryamāṇam avahann abhí śrávah* and 5, 31, 10: *vātasya yuktān suyújaś cid áśvān* with 4, 48, 4: *vāhantu tvā manoyújo yuktāso navatír náva váyo . . .* where the word *suyuj* in the former pair of verses is obviously parallel to the word *manoyuj* in the latter pair thus indicating clearly that *suyuj* is equivalent to *svayuj*. Compare also the verse 3, 58, 3: *suyúgbhir áśvaiḥ suvṛtā ráthena dásrāv imám śṛṇutam ślókam ádreḥ* with the verse 5, 75, 6: *á vām narā manoyújo 'śvāsaḥ prusitápsavaḥ | váyo vahantu pītāye sahá sumnébhir áśvinā* and with the verse 1, 119, 4:

*yuvām bhujyūm bhurāmāṇam vibhir gatām sváyuktibhir nivāhantā pitṛbhya ā* and note that the epithets *suyúj*, *manoyúj* and *sváyukti* are parallelly applied to the bird-horses of the Aśvins indicating that they express the same idea. The horses (birds) of Vāyu (Vāta) and of the Aśvins yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters think <sup>7</sup> of setting forth in it, and are hence *manoyújah* as well as *svayújah*.

This is not however the occasion for investigating exhaustively the nature and meaning of all the Vedic compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The foregoing observations will, I believe, have shown the necessity of such an investigation; and I therefore close this digression and return to our subject.

*svá* has the sense of *priyá* in the derivative *svadhā* also which in the instrumental case means not only 'according to one's own nature or wont' but also 'willingly, with gladness, with pleasure,' *nach eigenem Gefallen, gern, aus eigener Lust* (Grassmann), *Neigung* (Geldner, *Glossar*).

Like *nityá* and *svá*, the word *nijá*, too, means primarily 'own'; and like these two words, it too seems to have the meaning *priyá* in the following passage: AV. 3, 5, 2: *máyi kṣatrām parṇamaṇe máyi dhārayatād rayīm | ahám rāṣṭrasyābhivargé nijó bhūyāsam uttamáh* "In me maintain dominion, *parṇa* amulet, in me maintain wealth; may I, in the sphere of (my) kingdom, be beloved, supreme".

*júṣṭa* like *priyá*, originally means 'pleasing, agreeable, dear' and like *priyá*, has, seemingly, the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devā juṣṭās tanūḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni sārdham samavadadire* | This passage has already

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<sup>7</sup> According to another conception, these horses yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters express their intention of setting forth in it *in words*; they are hence also called *vacoyújah*. They are thus at the same time *manoyújah* or *vacoyújah* and *svayújah*.

been cited above (see p. 35) and explained as "The gods put together portions from their own selves, from their own powers". Note the parallelism of the word *jūṣṭāḥ* with the word *priyāṇi* that follows.

1, 33, 2 : *úpéd ahám dhanadām ápratītam*  
*jūṣṭām ná syenó vasatīm patāmi |*  
*índram namasyānn upamébbhir arkáir*  
*yáḥ stotṛbhyo hávyo ásti yāman ||*

"I fly (for protection), like the hawk to its own nest, to the giver of wealth, the irresistible, adoring with the best chants Indra who in battle is to be invoked by his praisers." *jūṣṭā vasatīḥ* is here equivalent to *svā vasatīḥ*; compare 1, 25, 4 : *pārā hi me vímanyavaḥ pátanti vása-iṣṭaye | váyo ná vasatīr úpa*; 9, 71, 6 : *syenó ná yónim sádanam . . . eṣati*.

4, 29, 3 : *śraváyéd asya kárṇā vājayádhyai*  
*jūṣṭām ánu prá díśam mandayádhyai |*  
*udvāvṛṣāṇó rādhase túviṣmān*  
*káran na índraḥ sutīrthābhayaṁ ca ||*

"Quicken his ears for hearing; make him find pleasure in (our) own direction; may Indra the mighty, showering gifts, make for us good crossings and safety." The expression 'make him find pleasure in our own direction,' means, probably, 'make him find pleasure with us, in our sacrifice'; compare 8, 12, 17 : *yád vā śakra parāvāti samudré údhi mándase | asmākam ít suté raṇā sám indubhiḥ*. The 'good crossings' desired are no doubt across evils, *duritā*, and enemies, *dviṣaḥ*. Instead of *prá díśam*, I read *pradísam*: see Oldenberg, *Vedaforschung*, p. 110.

1, 182, 6 : *ávavidddham taugryám apsv àntár*  
*anārambhaṇé támasi právidddham |*  
*cátasro nāvo jáṭhalasya jūṣṭā*  
*úd aśvibhyām iṣitāḥ pārayanti ||*

"The four own ships of Jaṭhala impelled by the Aśvins, bring over safely the son of Tugra who was

abandoned in the midst of the waters and who was stuck in bottomless darkness." I take *jaṭhala* here as a proper name: the person referred to is perhaps the same as the Jāṭhara mentioned in 1, 112, 17, in a hymn likewise addressed to the Aśvins. The four ships that brought over Tugra's son to safety are perhaps the same as the four birds that are said to have carried him in 8, 74, 14: *mām catvāra āśavaḥ sāviṣṭhasya dravitrūvaḥ | surāthāso abhi prāyo vākṣan vāyo nā tūgryam.*

Likewise, *jūṣṭa* seems to have this meaning of 'own' in the formula *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmi (nirvapāmi, etc.; see Concordance)*; the meaning seems to be "I sprinkle thee that art the own (portion) of such-and-such."

Similarly, the word *vāmā* also, meaning primarily 'dear, pleasing', etc., seems to have the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

10, 140, 3: *ūrjo napāj jātavedaḥ suśastībhir  
māndasva dhītībhir hitāḥ |  
tvē īṣaḥ sām dadhur bhūrivarpasas  
citrótayo vāmājātāḥ ||*

"O Jātavedas son of vigour, rejoice thou, beneficent, with the hymns containing fine praises. They put in you manifold nourishments, they whose help is wonderful, who are born of own self". *vāmājātāḥ* here, like *priyājāta* in 8, 71, 2 above, seems to be equivalent to *svājātāḥ*.

T.S. 1, 5, 1, 1: *devāsurāḥ sāmyattā āsan | té devā  
vijayām upayānto 'gnāu vāmām vāsu sām nyadadhata |  
idām u no bhaviṣyati | yādi no jesyāntīti |*

"The gods and asuras prepared to fight. The gods, setting out for the battle, deposited their own wealth with Agni (thinking), 'this will be ours in case they vanquish us'".

Tait. Br. 1, 1, 2, 3: *yāḥ purā bhadraḥ sām pāpiyān  
syāt | sá púnarvasvor agnīm ādadhīta | púnar evānam  
vāmām vāsūpāvartate | bhadro bhavati |*



“ He who having been formerly prosperous (literally, splendid or glorious) is now worse off, should establish the fires in Punarvasu (*nakṣatra*). (His) own glory (*i.e.*, wealth) will again come back to him and he will become glorious (prosperous).” *vāmaṁ vasu* here seems clearly to be equivalent to *svakīyaṁ vasu*.

In the case of these words also, *priyá*, *svá*, *júṣṭa* and *vāmá*, I have to repeat the observation made above with regard to *nitya*—namely, that in some passages, either of the meanings, ‘ dear ’ and ‘ own ’, is suitable, and that, though in the translations given above, I have chosen in such instances what seemed to me the better of the two, a combination of the two meanings would perhaps better represent the idea which the poet had in his mind when he used these words.

The use of the word *nitya* in the sense of ‘ dear ’ (*priya*) is not confined to Vedic literature but is occasionally met with in later literature also. Thus, it is said in the Mahābhārata (1, 169, 14) of Ghaṭotkaca—

*anuraktaś ca tān āsīt Pāṇḍavān sa Ghaṭotkacaḥ |*  
*teṣāṁ ca dayito nityam ātmanityo babhūva ha ||*

“ That Ghaṭotkaca loved the sons of Pāṇḍu and he was always dear to them, as dear as their own self ”. *nitya* in *ātmanitya* signifies, it seems to me, ‘ dear ’ and the word *ātmanitya* means therefore ‘ dear as the *ātmā* or own self ’ and not ‘ im Selbst haftend, an s Herz gewachsen ’ as suggested in the PW (*s.v.*); for the word *nitya* has no connection with ‘ haften ’ or ‘ wachsen. ’

Similarly it is not unlikely that the word *nitya* at the end of some compounds (like *araṇya-nitya*, *dharma-nitya*, *tapo-nitya*, *satya-nitya*, *adhyātmajñāna-nityatvam* in *Bh. Gītā* 13, 11) has the signification ‘ dear ’. In *Bh. Gītā* 13, 11 especially (*adhyātmajñānanityatvam tattva-jñānārthadarśanam | etaj jñānam iti proktam . . .*) the words *etaj jñānam* in the third pāda make it very probable that *nitya* here means ‘ dear ’.

Likewise there is no doubt that *nitya* means 'dear' in the compound *strīnitya* that occurs in Kathāsaritsāgara 45. 183: *nissnehena kim etena sva-priyās tyajatā bahiḥ | itīva nidrā strīnityasyaikasyāpy asya nāyayau* || "As if thinking, 'Of what use to me is this (Sūryaprabha) who is without love and has left his wives outside', Sleep did not visit him who was fond of women, though he was alone". Compare in this connection the epithet *strī-lampāṭa* that is applied to Sūryaprabha in *ibid.* 47. 101-102.

## § 2

*śunām*

Amongst the words *nitya*, *svā*, *nijā*, *vāmā*, and *jūṣṭa* that have been mentioned in the preceding article as signifying both (1) own, *svīya*, and (2) dear, pleasing, etc., *priya*, should be included the word *śunā* also.

This word is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst the synonyms of *sukha*, happiness; and this meaning *sukha* or the derived meaning *sukhakara* is repeated by Sāyaṇa in the course of his commentary on all the RV passages where the word occurs. In 3, 30, 22, however, he has in addition explained *śunam* as *śūnam utsāhena pravṛddham*, thus connecting the word with the verb *śū* or *śvay*, 'to swell.' This derivation is given in the PW by Roth who explains the word as (adv.) glücklich, mit Erfolg, zum Gedeihen; (n.) Erfolg, Gedeihen' and by Grassmann who explains it as '(1) Wachsthum, Gedeihen; (2) Gedeihen, Wohlergehen, Glück, Segen; (3) (adv.) zum Gedeihen, zum Wohlergehen, zum Segen.' Geldner, on the other hand, has suggested (*RV. Glossar*) that the word is related to *śivam*, and has explained it as 'Heil, zum Heil (*svastaye*).' And this suggestion seems to have found favour with Hillebrandt who has translated *śunam* as 'zum Heil' in

*Lieder des Rgveda*, p. 106. Later, however, Geldner himself has translated (*RV. Uebersetzung*) the word in this passage by 'gedeihlich, zum Gedeihen' and in 3, 30, 22 by 'mit Erfolg' and seems therefore to have abandoned his suggestion and gone back to the meanings proposed by Roth.

None of the above-mentioned meanings, however, suits the context in a passage of the Maitr. Samh. (1, 4, 11 ; p. 60, l. 3f.) which reads as follows :

*na vai tad vidma yadi brāhmaṇā vā smo 'brāhmaṇā vā | yadi tasya va ṛṣṇ smō 'nyasya vā yasya brūmahe | yasya ha tv eva bruvāṇo yajate tam tad iṣṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati | tat pravare pravaryamāṇe brūyāt | devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje | yo 'smi sa san karoni | śunam ma iṣṭam śunam śāntam śunam kṛtam bhūyāt | iti tad ya eva kaś ca sa san yajate tam tad iṣṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati ||*

The mantra *devāḥ pitarah* . . . . occurring in this passage is found in the Ait. Br., Tait. Br., and Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā also, but in a slightly different form, namely, as *devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje yasyāsmi na tam antar emi svam ma iṣṭam svam dattam svam pūrtam svam śrāntam svam hutam* in Tait. Br. 3, 7, 5, 4 and Āp. Śr. Sūtra 4, 9, 6 and as *devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vaḥ prabravīmi tasya me vitta svam ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam svam kṛtam* in KS. 4, 14. The word *śunam* in the MS reading of the mantra is thus parallel to the word *svam* in the TB reading of it, and is obviously equivalent to it. The above passage from the MS therefore means: "We do not know whether we are Brāhmaṇas or not Brāhmaṇas, whether we are (the descendants) of the ṛṣi whom we name or of another. But (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to (the descendant of) him who is named and to no other. Therefore when the lineage (*pravara*) is being proclaimed (?), he should recite: 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers,

O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be (that is, whosoever descendant I may be), that sacrifice; it is I, whoever I may be, that perform. Let (this) sacrifice of mine be (my) own, (this) work (my) own, (this) act (my) own.' In this way, whoever he be who sacrifices, (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to him and to no other."

Similarly, it is equally obvious that *śunam*=*svam* (with which it is parallelly used) in the KS reading of the mantra: *devāḥ pitarāḥ pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vaḥ prabravāmi tasya me vitta svam ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam svam kṛtam* "O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be, that sacrifice; this I declare unto you; bear witness to this on my behalf. Let (this) sacrifice be (my) own, (this) performance (my) own, (this) work (my) own."

On the other hand, this meaning *svam*, 'own' is unsuited to the word *śunām* in the passages of the RV and other texts where the word occurs. And I therefore infer, from the analogy of the words *priyā*, *vāmā* and *jūṣṭa* or *nītya*, *svā* and *nijā*, that mean both 'dear' and 'own,' that *śunā*, too, has these two meanings, and that it has, in the passages referred to, the meaning *priya*, 'dear, pleasing, agreeable.' This meaning *priya*, as I shall now show, suits the context well and yields good sense in these passages.

Śāṅkh. GS. 2, 10, 6: *agniḥ śraddhām ca medhām cā  
'vinipātām smṛtiṁ ca me |  
īlīto jātavedā ayaṁ  
śunam naḥ samprayacchatu ||*

. "May Agni bestow faith and intelligence, not falling off (unforgetfulness?) and memory on me. May this Agni Jātavedas, praised (by us) bestow pleasing things on us." Compare the similar use of *priya* and *vāma* in TS. 4, 7, 3, 1: *priyām ca me 'nukāmās ca me . . . (yajñēna kalpantām)*; RV. 4, 30, 24: *vāmām-vāmām ta ādure devó dadātv aryamā | vāmām pūṣā vāmām*

*bhāgo vāmām devāḥ kārūlatī*; 10, 56, 2: *vāmām asmā-bhyaṁ dhātu śārma túbhyaṁ*.

RV. Khila 10, 128, 4: *śunam ahaṁ hiranyasya  
pitur nāmeva jagrabha |  
tena mām sūryatvacam  
akaram pūruṣu priyam ||*

“ I have invoked the dear name of *hiranya* (gold) that is as dear as that of the father. I have therewith made myself sun-skinned (*i.e.*, bright as the sun to look at) and pleasing to men.” Compare 7, 56, 10: *priyā vo nāma huve turāṇām*; 10, 84, 5: *priyām te nāma sahure grṇīmasi* where the epithet *priya* is applied to *nāman*. Compare also, with regard to the invoking of the father, 2, 10, 1: *johūtro agnīḥ prathamāḥ pitēva*; 8, 21, 14: *ād it pitēva hūyase*; 6, 52, 6: *agnīḥ suśāmsaḥ suhāvaḥ pitēva*; 1, 104, 9: *pitēva naḥ śṛṇuhi hūyāmānaḥ*; 10, 39, 1: *pitūr nā nāma suhāvaṁ havāmahe*, etc.

10, 160, 5: *aśvāyānto gavyānto vājāyanto  
hāvāmahe tvōpagantavā u |  
ābhūṣantas te sumatai nāvāyām  
vayām indra tvā śunām huvema ||*

“ Desiring horses, cows, and riches, we call on thee to come here. Desiring to be in thy new (*i.e.*, latest) favour, O Indra, we invoke thee that art dear.” Compare the verses 8, 98, 4: *éndra no gadhi priyāḥ* and 1, 142, 4: *índram citrām ihā priyām* where the epithet *priya* is applied to Indra.

3, 30, 22: *śunām huvema maghāvānam índram  
asmín bhāre nṛtamam vājasātau |  
śṛṇvāntam ugrām ūtāye samātsu  
ghuāntam vṛtrāṇi samjītam dhānānām ||*

“ We invoke in this battle, in the winning of booty, dear Indra, liberal, most valiant, fierce, who hears (our cry) for protection, kills enemies in fights, and is the winner of wealth,”

6, 16, 4: *tvām īle údha dvitā*  
*bharatō vājībhīḥ śunām |*  
*ījé yajñēṣu yajñīyam ||*

“Bharata again, also, with the sacrificers has praised thee (sc. Agni) that art dear; he has offered worship to thee that art worthy of worship in sacrifices.” Compare 1, 128, 8: *agnīm hótāram īlate vāsudhitim priyām cētiṣṭham*; 1, 128, 7: *agnir yajñēṣu jēnyo ná viśpātīḥ priyō yajñēṣu viśpātīḥ* and the other passages referred to on p. 3 above where Agni is called *priya*, *purupriya*, *preṣṭha*, etc.,

10, 126, 7: *śunām asmābhyam ūtāye*  
*vāruṇo mitró aryamā |*  
*śārma yacchantu saprátha*  
*ādityāso yád īmahe āti dvīṣaḥ ||*

“May the Ādityas Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryamā grant us for our protection (their) dear wide-extended shelter which we pray for (and carry us) across enemies.” Compare 10, 126, 4: *yuṣmākaṁ śārmaṇi priyé syāma*; 7, 95, 5: *tāva śārman priyātame dúdhānā úpa stheyāma śaraṇām ná vṛkṣām* in which the epithet *priya* is applied to *śarman*.

1, 117, 18: *śunām andhāya bhāram ahvayat sâ*  
*vṛkīr aśvinā vṛṣaṇā nárēti |*  
*jārāḥ kanīna iva cakṣadānā*  
*ṛjṛāśvaḥ śatām ékaṁ ca meṣān ||*

“‘(May) that which is pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable) (happen) to the blind man, O ye bulls, valiant Áśvins,’ cried the she-wolf, ‘like a youthful lover has Ṛjṛāśva cut up a hundred and one goats.’”

Maitr. Sam., 2, 7, 12:

*śunam naro lāṅgalenānaḍudbhīr*  
*bhagaḥ phālāiḥ sīrapatīr marudbhīḥ |*  
*parjanya bījam irayāno dhinotu*  
*śunāsīrā kṛṇutam dhānyam naḥ ||*

“ May the men (give) pleasure with the plough and oxen ; may Bhaga with the ploughshares and the lord of the plough with the Maruts (give) pleasure. May Parjanya, impelling the seed (to sprout and grow) delight us ; may Śuna and Sira confer grain on us.” One has to supply the word *kṛṇotu*, *dadātu* or similar word after *śunam* in the first half-verse. Note the parallelism of *dhinotu* in the second half-verse with *śunam* (*kṛṇotu* or *dadātu*) in the second.

Kauśika-sūtra, 46, 54: *śunam vada dakṣiṇataḥ*  
*śunam uttarato vada* |  
*śunam purastān no vada*  
*śunam paścāt kapiñjala* ||

“ Say what is pleasing to the right ; say what is pleasing to the north ; say what is pleasing in front ; say, O partridge, what is pleasing behind.” That is to say, whether you cry to our right or to our left, in front of us or behind us, O, partridge, may such cry portend and bring to us what is pleasing or favourable.

RV. 4, 57, 8: *śunām naḥ phālā vī kṛṣantu bhūmim*  
*śunām kīṇāśā abhi yantu vāhaiḥ* |  
*śunām parjanya mādhuṇā pāyobhiḥ*  
*śunāsīrā śunām asmāsu dhattam* ||

“ May our ploughshares plough the land pleasingly ; may the ploughers proceed pleasingly with the draught-animals. May Parjanya with waters and honey do us favour ; may Śuna and Sira confer pleasing things (favours) on us.” The word *śunam* in the first half-verse is used adverbially and denotes ‘ pleasingly ; in a pleasing manner ; well,’ while in the second half-verse, it is a substantive as in the above passages. In the third pāda one has to supply a word like *kṛṇotu* or *dadātu* on the analogy of the fourth pāda. Compare also 4, 2, 8: *priyām vā tvā kṛṇāvate havīṣmān* and the phrase *rāṇam dhāḥ* and *rāṇam kṛdhi* in 8, 96, 16: *vibhumādbhyo bhūvanebhyo rāṇam dhāḥ* and 10, 112, 10: *rāṇam kṛdhi ranakṛt satyaśuṣma*.

4, 57, 4: *śunām vāhāḥ śunām nāraḥ*  
*śunām kṛṣatu lāṅgalam |*  
*śunām varatrā badhyanām*  
*śunām aṣṭrām úd ingaya ||*

“Pleasingly (*i.e.*, well) may the draught-animals, the men, (and) the plough plough; may the straps be tied well; well may the goad be applied (*i.e.*, may the ploughing of the draught-animals, men and the plough, the tying of the straps, and the application of the goad, all bring pleasing results to us).”

10, 102, 8: *śunām aṣṭrāvy ācarat kapardī*  
*varatrāyām dārvā nāhyamānaḥ |*  
*nṛmṇāni kṛṇvān bahāve jānāya*  
*gāḥ paśpaśānās tāviṣīr adhatta ||*

“Being goaded, he (*i.e.*, the bull), who was wearing cowries and who was hitched in the strap (*i.e.*, harness) with the wood, moved pleasingly (*i.e.*, well). Performing valiant deeds before many people, he put on mettle when he saw the bulls.”

The hymn to which this verse belongs has been much discussed by the exegetists and been interpreted in many ways; for literature connected with it, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 318. I agree with him and Geldner (*Ved. Studien* 2) in their opinion that it deals with the story of a Brāhmaṇa couple and a chariot-race.

The subject of *acarat* in pāda a above is the bull, *vṛṣabha*, that is mentioned in the previous verse as running—*āramhata pādyaḥkṛiḥ kakūdmān*. And hence I interpret *kapardī* as ‘wearing cowries’ instead of as ‘wearing a braid, *zottig*’ (Roth, Geldner, Oldenberg, etc.) as this latter epithet is unintelligible to me in connection with a bull. The custom, on the other hand, of ornamenting bulls and oxen with strings of cowries fastened round the neck is fairly wide-spread in India, and I conceive that this must have been the case with



Mudgala's bull also. *dāru* in the second pāda refers, of course, to the *drughaṇa* or block of wood mentioned in the next verse.

It has been suggested by Oldenberg (*l.c.*), perhaps with a view to get over the difficulty caused by the word *kapardī* (which he interprets as 'wearing a braid, *zottig*'), that the subject of *acarat* is not the bull but Mudgala. This does not seem to be correct; for I believe with Geldner that Mudgala was too old to take part in a chariot-race and that the chariot was in fact ridden by Indrasenā with Keśinī as charioteer; see the article on *Indrasenā* that follows below.

4, 3, 11 : *ṛténādrim vy āsan blidāntaḥ*  
*sām āṅgirasō navanta góbhiḥ |*  
*śunām nāraḥ pāri śadann uśāsam*  
*āvīḥ svār abhavaj jāté agnau ||*

" Properly did they burst open the rock, shattering it. The Aṅgirasas lowed with the cows. Pleasingly (*i.e.*, with pleasing results; well) did the men worship the Dawn; the sun made himself manifest when Agni was born." The explanation of *pariśadan* as 'umlagerten' by Roth, Grassmann and Geldner (*RV. Uebersetzung*) seems to me to be hardly satisfactory; and I prefer to follow Bhaṭṭabhaskara who has paraphrased *pariśadyam* in TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 as *parita upāsyam* (*cf.* also Mahīdhara on VS. 5, 32) and regard *pariśadan* here as equivalent to *paryupāsāṃcakrirc*. Compare 7, 76, 6: *prāti tvā stómair īlate vāsisthā uśarbūdhaḥ subhage tuṣṭuvāmsaḥ | gāvām netrī vājapatnī na ucchōṣaḥ sujāte prathamā jarasva*; 7, 78, 2: *prāti śim agnīr jarate sūmiddhaḥ prāti vīprāso matībhir grṇāntaḥ | uśā yāti jyōtiṣā bādhamānā vīśvā tāmāmsi duritāpa devī*; 7, 80, 1: *prāti stómebhir uśāsam vāsisthā gīrbhīr vīprāsaḥ prathamā abudhran*. The expression 'the men worshipped the Dawn' indicates that the Dawn showed herself at that time when Agni was born, that is, was kindled

before daybreak. The kindling of Agni, the coming of the Dawn and the rising of the sun are referred to in other verses also of the RV, for instance in 7, 72, 4: *ví céd ucchánty aśvinā uśásah prá vām bráhmāṇi kārāvo bharante | ūrdhvām bhānūm savitā devó āsred bṛhád agnāyah samídhe jarante*; 7, 77, 1-3: *úpo ruruce yuvatír ná yóṣā víśvam jīvām prasuván!ī carāyai | ábhūd agníh samídhe mānuṣāṇām ákar jyótir bádhamānā támāmsi || víśvam pratīcī sapráthā úd asthād rúṣad rāso líbhratī sukrám aśvait | hīraṇyavarṇā sudṛṣīkasamdyg gāvām mātā netry álmām aroci || devānām cákṣuḥ subhágā váhantī śvetām náyantī sudṛṣīkam áśvam | uśá adarśi*; 7, 78, 2-3: *práti śīm agnír jarate sámiddhaḥ práti víprāso matíbhír grṇántaḥ | uśá yāti jyótiṣā bádhamānā víśvā támāmsi duriṭāpa devī || etā u tyāḥ práty adṛśran purástāḥ jyótir yácchantír uśáso vibhātīḥ | ájījanan sūryam yajñām agnīm apācinam támo agād ájuṣtam*: 1, 113, 9: *úṣo yád agnīm samídhe cakártha ví yád āvas cákṣasā sūryasya*. But while these passages represent Agni as showing himself (as being born) after the Dawn, the verse 4, 3, 11 makes out that Agni was born first and the Dawn afterwards; compare also 7, 9, 3: *citrá-bhānur uśásām bhāty ágre*.

AV. 3, 15, 4: *imām agne śarāṇīm mīmṛṣo no yām ádhvānam ágāma dūrām | śunām no astu prapaṇo vikrayás ca pratipaṇāḥ phalīnam mā kṛṇotu | idām havyām samvidānaū juṣethām śunām no astu caritām útthitam ca ||*

‘Sprinkle, O Agni, this our path, this road which we have followed from a distance. May our bargain and sale be pleasing (*i.e.*, turn out favourable); may the barter make me abounding in fruit (*i.e.*, may the barter be fruitful to me). Do ye two enjoy this oblation in concord. May our transaction and trading be pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable).’ *śarāṇi*=road, path, and not *himsā*,

offence or *Verdruss*; see Apte. Accordingly I take the verb *mṛṣ* in the sense of 'to sprinkle,' a meaning which the author of the *Dhātupāṭha* assigns to it, but of its use in which no example has been up to now met with. The expression 'sprinkle this our path' means probably 'make our path smooth and easy to travel'; compare the expressions *tānūnapāt pathā ṛtāsya yānān mādhvā samañjān svadayā sujihva* in RV. 10, 110, 2; *ā no dadhikrāḥ pathyām anaktu* in 7, 44, 5; and *mādhvādya devo devabhya devayānān patho anaktu* in TB. 3, 6, 2, 1.

RV. 7, 70, 1: *ā viśvavārā 'śvinā gataṁ naḥ*

*prā tāt sthānam avāci vām pṛthivyām |*

*āśvo ná vājī śunāpṛstho asthād*

*ā yāt sedāthur dhruvāse ná yonim ||*

"Come, O ye Aśvins that have all desirable things; this your place in the earth has been praised. Like a powerful horse, it stood up with pleasing (*i.e.* pleasure-giving; comfortable) back on which you sat as if settling permanently in a house." *śunāpṛsthaḥ* = *priyapṛsthaḥ* or *vītapṛsthaḥ* which is used many times in the RV as an epithet of *aśva*, *atya*, *hari*, etc.; see Grassmann *s.v.* This word does not signify 'schlichten Rücken habend' (Roth in P.W.) or 'dessen Rücken eben ist' (Grassmann) but means 'having a pleasing (*i.e.*, comfortable) back'; compare the word *suśadaḥ* 'easy or comfortable to sit upon' that is used as an epithet of *arvan* in VS. 11, 44: *āśūr bhava vājy arvan pṛthūr bhava suśādas tvām*. Compare also *śagmāso āśvāḥ* in RV. 7, 97, 6: *tām śagmāso aruṣāso āśvā bṛhaspātiṁ sahavāho vahanti* and *śagmā hārī* in 8, 2, 27: *éhā hārī brahmayújā śagmā vakṣataḥ sákhāyam*.

2, 18, 6: *āśītyā navatyā yāhy arvāñ*

*ā śatēna hāribhir uhyāmānaḥ |*

*ayām hī te śunāhotreṣu sōma*

*indra tvāyā páriṣikto mādāya ||*

"Come here drawn by eighty, by ninety, by hundred horses. This Soma-juice, O Indra, has been poured out

for thy pleasure, by (the priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices."

2, 41, 14: *tivró vo mādhumāñi ayám*  
*śunáhotreṣu matsaráḥ |*  
*etám pibata kām̐yam ||*

"For you is this exhilarating, sweet, and sharp (Soma-juice) with the (priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices; drink this beloved (drink)."

2, 41, 17: *tvé víśvā sarasvatī*  
*śritāyūm̐ṣi devyām |*  
*śunáhotreṣu matsva*  
*prajāñ devi didiḍḍhi naḥ ||*

'On thee, O goddess Sarasvatī, depends all longevity. Delight thou with (the priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices; confer children on us.'

'The exegetists have explained the word *śunáhotreṣu* in all the above three verses' as a proper noun (Sāyaṇa does so in 2, 41, 14 and 2, 41, 17 only; in 2, 18, 6 he interprets *śunahotreṣu* as *sukhena hūyate somo yebhir iti śunahotrāḥ pātraviśeṣāḥ*)—an explanation for which there does not seem to be any necessity. For, just as the word *śunaḥpr̥ṣṭha* is equivalent to *vītaḥpr̥ṣṭha*, in the same way does the word *śunahotra* (*śunañ hotre yasya*) seem to be equivalent to the word *vītihotra* (*vītiḥ hotre yasya*) 'he who has pleasure in sacrifices,' i.e., 'he who takes delight in offering sacrifices to the gods,' which occurs in 1, 84, 18: *kó māṁsate vītihotraḥ sudevāḥ* and 2, 38, 1: *áthābhajad vītihotrañ svastaiḥ* with the signification of 'priest'. This meaning, 'priest' suits *śunahotra* also in the above verses, and there is thus no necessity to regard it as a proper name.

The word *śuna* occurs further in the compound *ducchunā* which means 'unpleasantness,' *vipriya* or *duḥkha*, and in the denominative verb *ducchunāy*, formed

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<sup>1</sup> The word *śunahotra* does not occur elsewhere.

from the above, meaning 'to cause unpleasantness or discomfort.'

The word *śuna* that forms part of *abhiśunatara* in T. Br. 1, 7, 1, 6 : *tau samalabhetām | so 'smāṭ abhiśunataro 'bhavat* means, as explained by the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara, *balena abhivṛddhaḥ* and is clearly derived from the root *śū*, *śvay* 'to swell.' It is thus quite a different word and unconnected with *śuna* meaning 'dear ; own.'

*śuna* thus signifies originally, as I hope is clear from the foregoing, *priya*, 'dear, agreeable,' etc., and secondarily, 'own'. The meaning *sukha* assigned to it by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* seems to be but an approximate equivalent of the original *priya*, and, like all approximations, not quite accurate.

### § 3

#### *indrasenā*

The word *indrasenā* occurs in one place only, in stanza 3 (*ūt sma vāto vahati vāso asyā ādhiratham yād ājayat sahāśram | rathīr abhūn mudgalānī gāviṣṭau bhare kṛtām vy aced indrasenā*) of RV. 10, 102. This hymn is obscure and the most diverse views have been held about it. According to Yāska (*Nirukta* 9. 23-24,) the hymn refers to a battle or race, while according to Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (p. 158 of the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, Macdonell's edition), it refers to the pursuit by Mudgala of some thieves who had stolen his oxen.

Bergaigne (II. 280 ff.), however, thought that the hymn depicts liturgical symbolism, Henry, (JA. 1895, II, 516 ff.), that it describes the phenomena that occur on

earth and in the sky during a thunder-storm, and Bloomfield (ZDMG. 48, 541 ff.), that it refers to heavenly, that is, meteorological events. This is the opinion of Profs. Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, II, 167) and Keith (JRAS. 1911, 1005, n. 1) also. Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2. 1 ff.), Pischel (ibid., 1. 124), von Bradke (ZDMG. 46, 445 ff.), Schröder (*Mysterium und Minus* 347), and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, 318), on the other hand, opined that it is an ākhyāna or itihāsa hymn, and that it describes a chariot-race in which Mudgala's wife took prominent part. For literature connected therewith see Oldenberg, l.c.

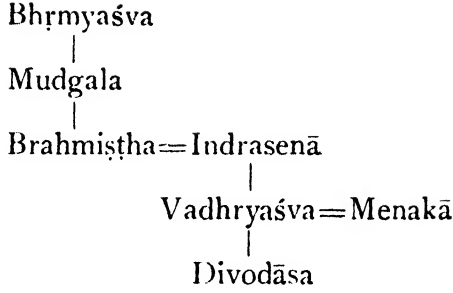
According to the last-named scholars (Geldner and others), *indrāsena* is a proper name denoting the wife of a human being, of Mudgala, and is the equivalent of the word *Mudgalāni* that is used in stanzas 2 and 6 of the hymn. According to the first-named scholars (Bergaigne and others), on the other hand, *indrāsena* denotes the wife of Indra. This 'wife' is, in the opinion of Bergaigne, the prayer addressed to Indra ('*la prière à Indra dans son union avec Soma*'), and in the opinion of Bloomfield,<sup>1</sup> Macdonell and Keith,<sup>2</sup> his bolt (vajra).<sup>3</sup>

In JRAS. 1910. 1328 ff., the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter attempted to throw some light on this hymn with the help of certain details contained in the Purāṇas about Mudgala, who is, according to the *Nirukta* (9. 2. 3. 3.) and the *Sarvānukramāṇi*, the son of Bhṛmyaśva and the author of this hymn. With the help of these details, Mr. Pargiter constructed the following genealogy:

<sup>1</sup> *mudgala* (= *mudgara*, hammer) denotes, according to Henry (p. 518 l. c.), Indra, and according to Bloomfield, Indra's vajra.

<sup>2</sup> This is the opinion of Sāyaṇa also.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to Vaitāna-sūtra 15. 3; Gop. Br. 2. 2. 9; Āpa. ŚS. 11. 3. 14; and TA. 3. 9. 1; *sēnēndrasya dhēnā Bīhaspātch* . . . , Bloomfield has shown at length, in pp. 549-552 l. c., that Senā is the wife of Indra and that the Indrasenā of stanza 3 is the same as this Senā.



And from this genealogy, he arrived at the following conclusions respecting the persons named in the hymn :

1. Mudgala was a rājā of the North Pañcāla dynasty and yet might also be regarded as a ṛṣi.

2. Mudgalānī, whose name is not mentioned, was obviously Mudgala's wife, as is generally agreed.

3. Indrasenā was the daughter-in-law of Mudgala, being the wife or rather the queen of his son Brahmiṣṭha.

4. Vadhri, in stanza 12, seems to refer to Indrasenā's son and Mudgala's grandson Vadhryaśva.

5. Keśī, mentioned in stanza 6, was the sārathi or charioteer who drove Mudgalānī in the race.

Mr. Pargiter was therefore disposed to interpret the hymn in accordance with the above conclusions.

In the note referred to above, Mr. Pargiter collected the information given by the Purāṇas about Mudgala only and did not bring out anything new about Indrasenā, although Geldner had long ago pointed out that her name occurred in the Mahābhārata (Calcutta ed., 3. 113. 22 ; 4. 21. 11) where she is described as Nārāyaṇī and as the wife of Mudgala. In the Kumbakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, these stanzas are found on p. 186 of the Vanaparvan (Ch. 114 ; 23, 24) and p. 47 of the Virāṭaparvan (Ch. 24 ; 19-22). In both these places, this text has *Nālāyam* instead of its doublet form *Nārāyaṇī* ; and it thus indicates that Indrasenā the wife of Mudgala was the daughter of Nala. She must therefore be

identified with the Indrasenā who, we read in the *Nalopākhyāna*,<sup>4</sup> was born to Nala of Damayanti.

This inference is confirmed by the following story found in chapters 212 and 213 of the *Ādiparvan* (p. 359 ff.), where it is related by Vyāsa to King Drupada with the object of overcoming his repugnance to the marriage of his daughter with five men (the five Pāṇḍava brothers):

“Kṛṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada, was, in her former birth, known as Indrasenā. She was then the daughter of Nala and was married to the ṛṣi Maudgalya<sup>5</sup> who was old and mere skin and bones, who was reeking with a smell which was other than pleasant, whose hair had become white and the skin furrowed with wrinkles, who was afflicted with leprosy, whose skin and nails were peeling off, who was repulsive to look at and who was extremely irritable, harsh, jealous and fanciful.<sup>6</sup> The blameless Indrasenā used to serve her husband faithfully and to eat what was left of his food (*uc-chiṣṭa*) after he had eaten. One day, the thumb of Maudgalya came off when he was eating his food; and Indrasenā, when she sat down to the remnants, unconcernedly threw it away and consumed the food left without any feeling of disgust. Her husband was much pleased at this act of wifely devotion, said that he would grant her a boon, and asked

<sup>4</sup> *Damayantyā saha Nalo vijahatā 'maroṣamaḥ ||*  
*janayāmāsa ca tato Damayantyām mahāmanāḥ |*  
*Indrasenam sutaṁ cāpi Indrasenām ca kanyakām ||*

Mahābhārata, 3. 54. 48-9.

<sup>5</sup> The husband of Indrasenā is represented in Mahābhārata, 4. 24. 21 as being aged more than one thousand years.

<sup>6</sup> *eṣā Nālāyanī pūrvam Maudgalyam sthaviram patim |*  
*ārādhayāmāsa tadā kuṣṭhinam tam aninditā ||*  
*tvag-asthi-bhūtaṁ kaṭukam lolam īrṣyam sukopanam |*  
*sugandhetara-gandhādhyam vali-palita-mūrdhajaṁ ||*  
*sthaviram vikṛtākūram śīryamāna-nakha-tvacam |*  
*ucchiṣṭam upabhuñjānā paryupāste mahā-munim ||*

Ādiparvan, Ch. 212; 4-6.



her often what she desired. Indrasenā, being thus frequently urged, begged of the ṛṣi that he should sport with her, first dividing himself into five persons, and later becoming one again.

“The ṛṣi, owing to the power of his austerities and his yoga, accordingly sported with Indrasenā for many years, now making himself into five men and again as one man, in Indraloka, Meru and other places. Indrasenā thus came to the forefront of pativrātās in the same way as Arundhatī and Sitā; and she attained a greater distinction in this respect *than even her mother Damayantī*.<sup>7</sup>

“While the ṛṣi Maudgalya thus played with Indrasenā, many years elapsed and he became weary of sensual pleasures. He therefore resolved to abandon this luxurious course of life and to practise austerities in a retired place. On this resolve being communicated to Indrasenā, she prostrated herself before the ṛṣi and earnestly besought him not to leave her as her craving for sensual pleasures was still unsatisfied. The ṛṣi grew wroth at this bold and impudent request and uttered a curse that she should be born as the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañcālas, and have five husbands.

“Grieving at this curse, and with her craving for sensual pleasure unsatisfied, Indrasenā, too, repaired to a forest and practised austerities in order to please Śiva. That god, being pleased with the austerities, showed himself to Indrasenā and conferred a boon on her that she would, in her next birth, have five husbands.”

It should be noted that the wording of the text, *Damayantyāś ca mātus sā viśeṣaṁ yayau*, informs us in an unmistakable way that Indrasenā,<sup>8</sup> who is described as

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<sup>7</sup> *eka-patnī tathā bhūtvā sadaivāgre yaśasvinī ||*

*Arundhatīva Sīteva babhūvāti-pativratā |*

*Damayantyāś ca mātus sā viśeṣaṁ adhikaṁ yayau ||*

Ibid ; Ch. 112 ; 25.

<sup>8</sup> The text, I may here note, calls Maudgalya's wife Mahendrasenā in one place (1. 212. 17).

Nālāyanī and as the wife of Maudgalya, was the daughter of Damayanti.

This story is very interesting and confirms the correctness of Geldner's interpretation of RV. X. 102 in several respects :

1. Thus, it is clear from the above story that Indrasenā, mentioned in stanza 2, is the same as the Mudgalānī mentioned in stanzas 2 and 6, and that she is the wife of the Mudgala mentioned in stanzas 5 and 9 and not his daughter-in-law as Mr. Pargiter would believe.

Mr. Pargiter seems to have been misled here by the use of the word Mudgala instead of the more correct form Maudgalya. Such laxity however in the matter of adding patronymic suffixes is fairly common not only in the epics and Purāṇas, but in the RV also. See for example, ZDMG. 42, p. 204 ff. where Oldenberg has shown that the word *vasiṣṭha* is used in the RV to denote not only the original Vasiṣṭha but his descendant as well.

As regards the word Mudgala itself, we have already seen above that the Mahābhārata in one place (III. 114. 24) uses that word to denote Mudgala's son (who, in 1. 212, 213 is called Maudgalya). Similarly, it relates in the Vanaparvan (Ch. 261) the story of a Mudgala (whether the same as Indrasenā's husband or a different person, there is no means of saying) who was offered, because of his zeal in giving gifts, the privilege of going to heaven in his mortal body (*saśarīra-svarga*) but refused to avail himself of it. In this story, the hero is called Mudgala (in III. 260. 38 ; 261. 3, 11, 14, etc.) and Maudgalya (in III. 261. 6, 14, 25, 33 etc.) indifferently. And in the *Bhāgavata*, X. 21. 34, the word Mudgala is used of the father of Divodāsa, i.e., to denote Vadhryaśva, the grandson of the original Mudgala.

There is thus no doubt that the Mudgala mentioned in stanzas 5 and 9 of RV. X. 102 is identical with the

Mudgala of Mahābhārata III. 114. 24, with the Maudgalya of ibid. I. 212-213 and with the Brahmiṣṭha<sup>9</sup> (son of Mudgala) of Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table.

2. The story also supports the opinion of Geldner (p. 1) and Oldenberg (p. 318, n. 2) that Mudgala was a Brāhmaṇa against those of Henry and Pargiter who believed that he was a king.

3. The story gives, as can be seen above, a graphic description of the decrepitude of Indrasenā's husband Mudgala, a point about which Bloomfield and Oldenberg were inclined to be sceptical.

Mudgala's decrepitude is thus well-attested and may be regarded as a certain fact. It is not however quite so certain that it was this decrepitude which, as Geldner would believe, prevented him from riding the chariot himself in the race and led him to substitute his wife Indrasenā in his stead. A passage<sup>10</sup> of the Kāthaka-saṁhitā (X. 5; Vol. 1, p. 130) which relates the story of a chariot-race between Vāmadeva and Kusidāyī shows that it was not unusual for women to take part in such

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<sup>9</sup> I am, however, very doubtful that Mudgala's son was named Brahmiṣṭha. From the footnotes given by Mr. Pargiter on p. 1329 loc. cit., it can be seen that, out of eight Purāṇas which he has used to construct the genealogy in question, only two contain the word brahmiṣṭha. In both these places, it is preferable to look upon this term as a common noun (=the best of Brāhmaṇas; a brahmarṣi) rather than as a proper name. The corrupt text of the Harivaṁśa, too, which uses the word *brahmarṣi* in this context favours this view.

Ludwig has, in his *Rgveda-übersetzung* (III, 171), set down a table where he has shown Vadhryāśva, the father of Divodāsa, as the son of Devavān, - a view accepted by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, 1, 376). Though there is not much evidence in favour of this view, too, I have here provisionally adopted it for lack of a better-attested genealogy.

<sup>10</sup> Vāmadevaś ca vai Kusidāyī cātmanor ājirn ayātām | tasya Kusidāyī pūrvasyātidrutasya kūbarāṁ ny amṛṇāt | sā dvitīyam upa paryā vartata | iṣāṁ vā . . . akṣaṁ vā chetsyāmiti | sa Vāmadeva ukhyam agnim abibhaḥ . . . ||

aces. Indrasenā too, who was the daughter of Nala, a noted charioteer,<sup>11</sup> must naturally have known more of chariots and their driving and of races than her husband the Brāhmaṇa ṛṣi. These facts offer, in my opinion, sufficient explanation as to why Mudgala did not himself ride in the race but sent his wife Indrasenā instead as rider.

4. In interpreting stanza 6 of the hymn, Geldner has followed Sāyaṇa in thinking that Mudgalānī (i.e., the wife of Mudgala ; Indrasenā) was both the rider (*rathīḥ*) as well as the charioteer (*sārathīḥ*) in the race. He has therefore accepted (p. 8) Sāyaṇa's dictum<sup>12</sup> that the word *keśī* in that stanza stands really for the feminine form *keśinī* and means 'having beautiful hair'. Further on, however, Sāyaṇa has given another explanation<sup>13</sup> according to which Keśinī was the charioteer. I am disposed to think that this last explanation is correct and that this Keśinī is, perhaps, identical with the Keśinī who, in the *Nalopākhyāna*,<sup>14</sup> was employed by Damayantī to observe and report to her the actions of Bāhuka (i.e., Nala), and to carry messages to him.

5. Regarding Geldner's interpretation of stanza 11 of the hymn, an interpretation which is not acceptable to Bloomfield, Oldenberg and Pargiter, the story related above shows that the sense which Geldner attached to the first half of that stanza is quite correct, so correct as to be surprising when one bears in mind that Geldner did not know of the above Mahābhārata story. He has there rightly interpreted the sentence *parivṛkteva patividyam ānaṭ* and has remarked that after winning the race and thus pleasing the old Mudgala, the net advantage gained by Indrasenā was not much to speak of, and that, on the whole, she was rather disappointed

<sup>11</sup> Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, 64, 2 ; 69, 28-31 ; 70, 18, etc.

<sup>12</sup> *keśīti sārathyabhiprāveṇa pullīṅgātā |*

<sup>13</sup> *athavā keśī keśinī sārathir asya |*

<sup>14</sup> Mahābhārata, III. Ch. 72, 73.

than otherwise. The correctness of this opinion is fully borne out by the above story which relates, as we have already seen, how Maudgalya was pleased with his wife, offered her a boon, sported with her as she desired, but left her before her desires were satisfied and thus disappointed her.

6. In the light of what has been said above, Mr. Pargiter's opinion that *vādhrī* in stanza 12 refers to Indrasenā's son seems to be untenable.

The above story is not found in Ganapat Krishnaji's edition of the Mahābhārata, with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary, published in Bombay, but seems to occur in some editions of Northern India. It is followed in the Kumbakonam edition (Ch. 214) by another story,<sup>15</sup> known as *Pañcendropākhyāna* ('Story of the five Indras') which is found in the Bombay edition (Ch. 197) and is as follows :

The gods (*devāḥ*) were once engaged in celebrating a sacrifice of many years' duration in the Naimiśa forest. Once they saw a golden lotus floating in the Gaṅgā river ; and Indra, being curious about its origin, went up the bank of the river until he came to a place where a most beautiful and radiant woman was standing in the water weeping and letting fall tears into the river which at once turned into golden lotuses. Seeing this, Indra was struck with wonder and asked her who she was and why she was weeping. She replied, " If you follow unfortunate me, you will know who I am and why I am weeping." She then led the way, Indra following, to the summit of a mountain where Indra saw a handsome youth playing a game with a radiantly beautiful woman. As this youth took no notice of Indra but continued to play, Indra became angry and said, " Know, O man, that I am Indra and that this universe is mine and obeys my will." The youth who was no other than Śiva, then made Indra enter into a cave where he saw four others like himself

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<sup>15</sup> This story is, in parts, reminiscent of that related in Keno-paniṣat (khaṇḍa III).

who had all formerly been Indras. Śiva then said, "You will all five be born human beings and do work on behalf of the gods; this woman too will be born one and will be your wife." The former Indras then prayed that in that case their fathers should be gods while Indra entreated that a son born to him may be allowed to take his place, and work with the other four, on the earth.

This story, too, was related by Vyāsa to Drupada; and Vyāsa, after relating the story, added that the five sons of Pāṇḍu were the five Indras and his daughter Kṛṣṇā, that woman.<sup>16</sup>

This story corroborates, though in a very unexpected way, the opinion expressed by Bergaigne and Bloomfield that the word *indrasenā* denotes the wife of Indra, while the *Indrasenopākhyāna* that precedes it in the Kumbakonam edition shows that the opinion of Geldner (and others), that *indrasenā* denotes Mudgala's wife, is justified. The two Mahābhārata stories together thus show that Bergaigne (partially) and Geldner were both correct in the views that they held regarding the word *indrasenā*.

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In the course of the above discussion, we have met with the names of two women, Damayantī and Indrasenā, who were regarded as patterns of pativrātās. Compare Mahābhārata, III. 114. 22-24 :

*Śāntā cainam paryacaran narendra  
khe Rohiṇī Somam ivānukūlā ||*

*Arundhatī vā subhagā Vasiṣṭham  
Lopāmudrā vā yathā hy Agastyam |  
Nalasya vai Damayantī yathābhūd  
yathā Śacī Vajradharasya caiva ||*

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<sup>16</sup> The Kumbakonam edition contains some more stanzas in which it is said that this woman was the daughter of Nala.

*Nālāyanī cendrasenā babhūva  
 vaśyā nityam Mudgalasyājamīdha |  
 yathā Sītā Dāśarather mahātmano  
 yathā tava Draupadī Pāṇḍuputra |  
 tathā Śāntā R̥śyaṣṛigaṁ vanastham  
 prītyā yuktā paryacaran narendra ||*

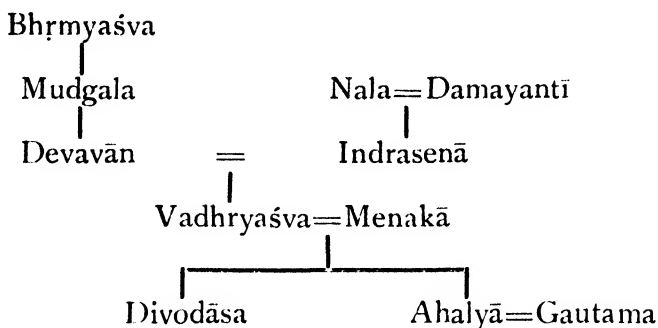
and ibid. IV. 24. 17-23 :

*duhitā Janakasyāsīd Vaidehī yadi te śrutā |  
 patim anvacarat Sītā mahāranya-nivāsinam ||  
 vasantī ca mahāranye Rāmasya mahiṣī priyā |  
 Rāvaṇena hṛtā Sītā rākṣasībhiḥ ca tarjitā |  
 sā kliṣyamānā suśroṇi Rāmam evānvapadyata ||  
 Lopāmudrā tathā bhīru bhartāram ṛṣisattamam |  
 bhagavantam Agastyaṁ sā vanāyaivānvapadyata ||  
 Sukanyā nāma Śaryāter Bhārgava-cyavanaṁ vane |  
 valmīka-bhūtaṁ sādhrvī tam anvapadyata bhāmini ||  
 Nālāyanī cendrasenā rūpeṇāpratimā bhuvī |  
 patim anvacarad vṛddham purā varṣa-sahasriṇam ||  
 Nalaṁ rājānam evātha Damayanti vanāntare |  
 anvagacchat purā Kṛṣṇe tathā bhartṛṁs tvam anvagāḥ  
 yathaitāḥ kīrtitā nāryo rūpavatyaḥ pativratāḥ |  
 tathā tvam api kalyāṇi sarvairḥ samuditā guṇairḥ ||*

These two were related to each other as mother and daughter. It is therefore interesting to find in this connection that Ahalyā (wife of Gautama and mother of Śatānanda and others) who is regarded as a pattern of chastity,<sup>17</sup> was the daughter of Vadhryaśva son of Indrasenā (Bhāgavata, IX. 21. 34).

<sup>17</sup> See Apte's Dictionary, s.v. *ahalyā*.

We can now rewrite Pargiter's genealogical table as follows :



Of these names, all except Bhṛmyaśva, Nala, Damayantī and Menakā are found in the RV.

#### § 4

#### *śagmā*

This is an infrequently used word that occurs in about ten passages in the RV and in about the same number of passages in other Vedic texts. It is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst *sukha-nāmāni* (3, 6) along with *śiva*, *syona*, *śam* and other words. Sāyaṇa, in his RV commentary explains it mostly as *sukha* or *sukha-kara*, but in two places (7, 97, 6; 8, 2, 27) gives the alternative explanation of *śakta*; Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara explains it as *sukha* or *samartha* and as *śakti-viśeṣa* in his commentary on TS. 1. 8. 22. 2. and TB. 1. 5. 5. 1, while Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara know nothing of *śakta* or *samartha* and explain the word as *sukha* or *sukha-kara* in their commentaries on VS. 3, 43; 4, 2 and 29, 45.

Roth, in the PW, points out that the word is derived from the root *śak* 'to be able' and explains it as 'hilfreich, mittheilsam, entgegenkommend, gütig, fromm' while Grassmann has assigned to it the meanings



'vermögend, stark, kräftig.' Similarly, Ludwig too translates the word as 'kräftig, helfend, wirksam, stark' in his *RV. Ueber.*, while Oldenberg translates it as 'mighty' in 1, 143, 8 (SBE. 46), but as 'Glück' in *Ind. St.* 15, 74. Likewise, Geldner, in his *RV. Glossar*, explains it as 'Glück bringend, heilsam, erfolgreich, günstig'; but in his *RV. Ueber.*, he has given up this view and, following Grassmann and others, translated the word as 'tüchtig.'

Now it seems to be plain that the word *śāgmá* is derived from the root *śak* 'to be able'; but it is also equally plain that the meaning 'mighty, kräftig,' or 'tüchtig' does not fit into the context in *RV.* 7, 54, 3: *śāgmáyā saṁśádā te sakṣīmáhi raṇváyā gātumáyā* while the meaning *śiva* or *sukha-kara* does. Hence it is not probable that *śāgmá* means 'stark, tüchtig, kräftig or mighty' as Grassmann and the other scholars mentioned above think. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the words *śiva*, *syona* and *śāmyoh* in *VS.* 3, 43: *kṣémāya vaḥ śāntyai prápadye śivāñ śāgmāñ śāmyóh śāmyóh*; 4, 2: *dikṣātapásoś tanúr asi tām tvā śivāñ śāgmām páridadhe*; *AV.* 19, 8, 2: *aṣṭāvīmśāni śivāni śāgmāni sahá yógañ bhajantu me*; 14, 2, 17: *úghoracakṣur ápatighnī syonā śāgmā suśévā*; 4, 27, 3: *śāgmā bhavantu marúto naḥ syonāḥ*; and *Śāñkh. GS.* 3, 5, 1: *śāgmañ śāgmañ śivam śivam kṣémāya vaḥ śāntyai prápadye* points to the conclusion that *śāgmá* is a synonym of *śiva*. The *Brāhmaṇa* passage, *tām tvā śivām śāntām śāgmām sasukhām sādhvīm vā*, too, cited by Uvaṭa in his commentary<sup>1</sup> on *VS.* 4, 2 shows that the word was so understood in the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*; and since this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages

<sup>1</sup> Uvaṭa merely calls it *śruti*; but one can understand clearly from the way in which the passage is cited, that he is citing from a recension of the *Śāta. Br.* The corresponding passage of the *Ajmere* edition reads as *tām tvā śivāñ śāgmām paridadha iti tām tvā śivām sādhvīm paridadha ity evaitad āha.*

in which it is used (as will be shown presently), there is no doubt that the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* as also Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara are right in explaining the word as *śiva*, *sukha*, or *sukhakara*.

1, 130, 10 : *sá no nāvyebhīr vṛṣakarmann ukthaiḥ*  
*púrām dartaḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ |*  
*divodāsébhir indra stāvāno*  
*vāvṛdhīthā áhobhir iva dyauḥ ||*

“O thou of strong deeds (praised) with new hymns, protect us with thy auspicious protections, O shatterer of forts. Praised by the Divodāsas (i. e., the descendants of Divodāsa) do thou, O Indra, wax mighty day by day like Dyaus”.

After *ukthaiḥ* in pāda a, I supply the word *stāvānaḥ* from c ; compare Sāyaṇa and Geldner, *RV. Ueber*. The import of pāda d is not clear. Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner construe *áhobhir iva* with *dyáuḥ* and translate the expression as ‘durch Strahlen wie der Himmel’, ‘wie mit [in] den tagen der himel’, and ‘wie der Tag mit der Tageszeiten’ ; so does Sāyaṇa also who explains it as *dyauḥ dyotana-sīla ādityaḥ ahobhiḥ prasiddhaiḥ yathā pravṛddho bhavati*. This is not very satisfactory, and I therefore think that it is preferable to construe *áhobhiḥ* with *vāvṛdhīthāḥ* and regard *dyaus iva* only as forming the upamāna. The meaning of the pāda therefore is, ‘O Indra, may thy might increase day by day (so as to equal or surpass) that of Dyaus’. Compare in this connection 4, 21, 1 : *ā yātv indraḥ . . vāvṛdhānās tāviṣīr yasya pūrvīr dyaúr ná kṣatrām abhībhūti puṣyāt* “May Indra come who, developing his many strengths, increase, like Dyaus, in might overcoming those of others.”

The expression *śagmaiḥ pāyúbhiḥ* in b is equivalent to *śivaiḥ pāyúbhiḥ* used in 8, 60, 8 : *śivébhiḥ pāhi pāyúbhiḥ* ; compare also 1, 143, 8 : *śivébhir naḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ* and 6, 71, 3 : *ádabdhébhiḥ savitaḥ pāyúbhiḥ*

*tvām śivébhir adyá pári pāhi.* Compare also the word *saúbhagebhiḥ* in 1, 112, 25: *dyubhír aktúbhiḥ pári pātam asmān áriṣṭebhir áśvinā saúbhagebhiḥ.*

1, 143, 8: *áprayucchann áprayucchadbhir agne  
śivébhir naḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śaꣳmaíḥ |  
ádabdhebhír ádṛpítebhír iṣté  
'nimiṣadbhiḥ pári pāhi no jáḥ ||*

“Protect us, O Agni, never failing, with watchful, auspicious, beneficent protections. O thou sacrifice, protect our children with unwinking [i.e., always watchful] undeceived heedful (protections).” The meaning of *iṣte* (so, without accent according to the Padapāṭha) in pāda c is not clear. Being unaccented, it must be a vocative of *iṣṭi* and mean either ‘O thou our wish’ (this is how Oldenberg understands it, SBE. 46, 158; see also Sāyaṇa) or ‘O sacrifice.’ I am inclined to think that neither of these two meanings is correct and that the RV poet had something quite different in his mind. *iṣṭa* is found similarly used in 6, 8, 7 also, *ádabdhebhís táva gopābhir iṣte 'smākam pāhi triṣadhaṣṭha sūrín.* In both places, Geldner (*RV. Ueber.* I, 183) is inclined to think that the word used is *iṣté*, short for *iṣtébhiḥ*, and that it means ‘dear’ and is an attribute of *pāyúbhiḥ* or *gopābhiḥ*.

5, 43, 11: *ā no divó bṛhatāḥ párvatād ā  
sárasvatī yajatā gantu yajñām |  
hávam deví juṣṣāṇā ghṛtācī  
śagmām no vācam uṣatī śṛṇotu ||*

“May the adorable Sarasvatī come to our sacrifice from the high heaven, from the mountain. May she, rich in ghee, and showing favour to our invocation, listen lovingly to our auspicious hymn”. Regarding *śagmām vācam* in pāda d, compare *śántamāni vācāmsi* and *śántamā gíḥ* etc. in 6, 32, 1: *śántamāni vācāmsy āsā sthāviráya takṣam*; 5, 42, 1: *prá śántamā váruṇam dīdhitī gír mitráṁ bhāgam áditīm nūnām āsyāḥ*; 5, 43,

8: *ácchā mahí bṛhatī śāmtamā gīr dūtó ná gantu*; 1, 76, 1: *bhúvad agne śāmtamā kâ manīṣā* and 8, 74, 7: *śā [sc. matīh] te agne śāmtamā cāniṣṭhā bhavatu priyā*.

6, 44, 2: *yāh śagmās tuviśagma te  
rāyó dāmā matīnām |  
sōmah sūtāh sá indra té  
'sti svadhāpate mādah ||*

“O thou most beneficent, the beneficent intoxicating Soma, giver of riches and hymns, is pressed for thee, O Indra, lord of strength”. Compare the epithet *śāmtamah* applied to *mādah* in 9, 104, 3 and to Indra in 8, 53, 5: *ā śāmtama śāmtamābhīr abhīṣṭibhiḥ*; compare also 1, 171, 3: *utā stutó maghāvā śāmbhaviṣṭhaḥ*.

6, 75, 8: *rathavāhanam havir asya nāma  
yātrāyudham nīhitam asya vārma |  
tātrā rātham ūpa śagmām sadema  
viśvāhā vayām sumanasyāmānāḥ ||*

“*havir* (—*dhāna*) is the name of this chariot-carrier (i.e., of the waggon which carries the chariot) in which is placed the weapon and coat of mail of this (warrior). May we with well-disposed mind always place in it the beneficent chariot.” I follow Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara (VS. 29, 45) in regarding *havir* in pāda a as a contraction of *havir-dhāna*; see also Geldner, Ved. St., 2, 275. *havir-dhāna* denotes the waggon which carries the *havis* or oblation; and the chariot-waggon is so called here because the chariot itself as also the weapon and armour are regarded by the RV poet as forming the oblation which the warrior-sacrificer uses in the battle-sacrifice.

Regarding the expression *śagmām rātham* in c, compare the epithets *sukhā* and *sukhātama* that are applied to *rātha* in many RV verses (for references see Grassmann, s. v. *sukha*), and also the epithet *sacanās* that is applied to it in 1, 116, 18: *revād uvāha sacanó rātho vām*. Compare also the epithet *vāhiṣṭha* ‘most

comfortable' in 4, 14, 4: *ā vām vāhiṣṭhā ihā té vahantu rāthā āśvāsaḥ*.

7, 54, 3: *vāstoṣ pate śāgmāyā saṁsādā te  
sakṣimāhi raṇvāyā gātumātyā |  
pāhī kṣēma utā yōge vāraṁ no  
yūyām pāta svastibhiḥ sādā naḥ ||*

"May we, Vāstoṣpati, be joined with thy company that is beneficent, pleasant and continuing. Protect us well when we are quietly enjoying or acquiring property. Do ye protect us always with (your) blessings."

7, 60, 5: *imé cētāro āṇṭasya bhūrerc  
mitrō aryamā vāruṇo hī sānti |  
imā ṛtāsya vāvṛdhur duroṇé  
śāgmāsaḥ putrā āditer ādabdhāḥ ||*

"These are the avengers of great wrong, Mitra, Aryamā and Varuṇa. These undeceivable beneficent sons of Aditi grew up in the house of ṛta (Law)". With the expression *śāgmāsaḥ putrā āditeḥ* in pāda d, compare 10, 77, 8: *yajñīyāsa ūmā ādityēna nāmnā śāmbhaviṣṭhāḥ* and 1, 106, 2: *tā ādityā ā galam sarvātātaye bhūtā devā vṛtratūryeṣu śāmbhūvaḥ*.

7, 97, 6: *tām śāgmāso aruṣāso āśvā  
bṛhaspātim sahaṇvāho vahanti |  
sāhaś cid yāsya nīlavat sadhāstham  
nābho nā rūpām aruṣām vāsānāḥ ||*

"Him, Bṛhaspati, whose blue place . . . . ., draw good bright horses that draw together and that, like the sky, wear brilliant jewels".

Instead of *nīlavat*, the reading *nīlavat* is found in many MSS in the third pāda, whose import, with either reading, is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains pādas cd as *yasya Bṛhaspateḥ sahaś cit balam ca bhavati | nīlam nilayo nivāsaḥ | tad-yuktaṁ sadhasstham saha-sthānam ca yasya tam Bṛhaspatim ity anvayaḥ | kīdrśā āśvāḥ | nabho na ādityam iva aruṣam ārocamānam rūpam vāsānā dhārayantaḥ*. Grassmann translates them as 'dessen

Kraft erstarkt ist, ihn fahren hin zum dunkeln Sitz die Hengste . . . mit rothem Glanz umkleidet, wie mit Wolkem', and Ludwig as 'des sigeskraft wie ein nestartiger [zufluchts] ort, die wie der wolkenhimmel in rote farbe gehüllet ''.

*śagmāso āśvāḥ* = horses that draw the chariot comfortably, i. e., good carriage-horses; compare *āśvān* . . . *vāhiyaśaḥ* in 1, 104, 1 and *vāhiṣṭhā āśvāḥ* in 4, 14, 4 cited above and other verses (for references see Grassmann s. v. *vāhiṣṭha*). Compare also *suṣṭhuvāho āśvāḥ* in 10, 107, 11: *bhojām āśvāḥ suṣṭhuvāho vahanti*.

8, 2, 27: *éhá hárī brahmayújā*

*śagmā vakṣataḥ sákhāyam |*

*gīrbhīḥ śrutām gīrvaṇasam ||*

"May the two good horses that are yoked by the hymn, draw here friend (Indra), fond of praises, who is famous because of hymns of praise".

10, 31, 5: *iyám sâ bhūyā uśāsām iva kṣā*

*yád dha kṣumántaḥ śávasā samāyan |*

*asyá stutīm jaritúr bhíkṣamānā*

*ā naḥ śagmāsa úpa yantu vājāḥ ||*

"May this be the abode, as of the Dawns, where (Riches) come together with food and strength. May the beneficent Riches come to us, eagerly longing for the hymn of this singer". Regarding *śagmāsaḥ vājāḥ*, compare 10, 53, 8: *átrā jahāma yé ásann āsevāḥ śivān vayām út tarcmbhī vājān*.

VS. 3, 43: *úpahūtā ihá gāva*

*úpahūtā ájāvayaḥ |*

*átho ánnasya kílāla*

*úpahūto grhēsu naḥ |*

*kṣémāya vaḥ śāntyai prápadye*

*śivān śagmān śamyóḥ śamyóḥ ||*

"Here invoked are cows; invoked, sheep and goats. Then invoked in this our house is the sweetness of food

(i. e., sweet food). I implore you for peace and prosperity ; good fortune, good fortune, happiness, happiness."

VS. 4, 2: *āpo asmān mātārah śundhayantu ghr̥tēna no  
ghr̥tapvāḥ punantu | vīśvañ hī riprām pravā-  
hanti devīr úd id ābhyaḥ śúcir ā pūtā emi |  
dīkṣātapāśos tanūr asi tām tvā śivāñ śāgmām  
pāri dadhe bhadrām vārṇam pūṣyaṇ ||*

"May the Waters, mothers, cleanse us ; may they who are clear like ghee, cleanse us with ghr̥ta. The bright ones indeed wash off all filth and I shall get up from them clean and pure. Thou art the body of dīkṣā and tapas, and I put on thee, auspicious, beneficent, glorying in a resplendent appearance."

AV. 4, 27, 3: *pāyo dhenūnām rāsam ośadhīnām  
javām ārvatām kavayo yā invatha |  
śāgmā bhavantu marúto naḥ syonās  
té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||*

"O ye poets, who impel milk in cows, sap in herbs, swiftness in coursers, may the Maruts be beneficent, propitious, to us ; may they free us from distress."

AV. 14, 2, 17: *ághoracakṣur ápatighñī syonā  
śāgmā suśévā suyāmā gr̥hébhyaḥ |  
vīrasūr devīkāmā sām tváyai-  
dhiṣīmahi sumanasyāmānā ||*

"With eye not terrible, not husband-slaying, happiness-conferring, beneficent, propitious, of easy control to the house, bearing male children, loving brothers-in-law, with well-disposed mind, — may we thrive together with thee."

AV. 18, 2, 21: *hváyāmi te mánasā mána ihé-  
mān gr̥hāñ úpa juṣṣānā ehi |  
sām gacchasva pitṛbhiḥ sām yaména  
syonās tvā vātā úpa vāntu śāgmāḥ ||*

"I call thy mind here with mind ; come to this house, liking ; unite thyself with the Fathers, with Yama ; let happy auspicious winds waft thee (to them)."

AV. 18, 4, 8 : *āṅgirasām áyanam púrvo agnír  
 ādityānām áyanam gārhapatyó  
 dáksīṇānām áyanam dakṣiṇāgníḥ |  
 mahimānam agnér víhitasya bráhmaṇā  
 sámāṅgaḥ sárva úpa yāhi śagmáh ||*

“ The path of the Aṅgirasas is the eastern fire ; the path of the Ādityas is the Gārhapatya fire (i. e., householder's fire); the track of the sacrificial gifts is the southern fire ; do thou, with thy limbs, whole, happy, attain to the greatness of Agni who has been created by Brahman ”.

AV. 19, 8, 2 : *aṣṭāvimśāni śivāni śagmāni  
 sahú yógam bhajantu me |  
 yógam prá padye kṣéman ca  
 kṣéman prá padye yógam ca  
 námo 'horātrābhyaṃ astu ||*

“ The twenty-eight (asterisms) that are beneficent, helpful, may they be brought into association with me. I take refuge with Yoga (acquisition of property) and Kṣema (enjoyment of property); with Kṣema and Yoga I take refuge. I bow to Day and Night ”.

Pādas ab mean, ‘O ye twenty-eight asterisms, may I be brought into your association, which is auspicious, beneficent’; compare with them RV. 7, 54, 3 : *vāstoṣ pate śagmāyā saṃsádā te sakṣīmā'hi raṇvāyā gātumātyā* explained above.

*śagmā* further occurs in TB. 1, 5, 5 : *vaiśvānarasya tejasā | ṛtenāsyā nivartaye | satyena parivartayḥ | tapasā 'syānuvartaye | śivenā 'syopavartaye | śagmenā 'syābhivartaye* in a mantra that is recited by the priest when shaving the yajamāna. It is not known exactly what the operations are that are denoted by the words *nivartana*, *parivartana*, *anuvartana*, *upavartana* and *abhivartana* here ; but there is no doubt that *śagmā* like *śiva* denotes ‘beneficence’ or ‘auspiciousness’ here.



Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 5, 1: *śagman śagman śivan śivan kṣe-  
māya vaḥ śāntyai prapadye 'bhayaṁ no  
astu grāmo mā 'raṇyāya paridadātu viśva-  
mahāya mā paridehi* |

“Good fortune, good fortune, happiness, happiness ;  
I take refuge with you for well-being and peace. May  
there be security for us ; let the village give me over to  
the forest. Give me over to the all-great (forest).”

From *śagmá* is derived the word *śagmiya* or  
*śagmya*, which too denotes ‘beneficent, auspicious’ and  
occurs in the two following verses :

RV. 3, 31, 1: *śāsad válnir duhitúr naptyám gād  
vidvāñ ṛtasya dīdhitiṁ saparyán |  
pitā yātra duhitúḥ sékam ṛñján  
sám śagmyēna mánasā dadhanvé* ||

The import of this verse is obscure. See Sāyaṇa's  
commentary, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, and Geldner,  
*RV. Ueber*. I translate mechanically: “To the grand-  
daughter went, instructing, the leader of the sacrifice  
knowing ṛta (Law), honouring pious thought, where the  
father, passing semen to the daughter, together ran with  
beneficent thought.”

AV. 5, 1, 9: *ardhām ardhéna páyasā prṇakṣy  
ardhéna śuṣma vardhase amūra |  
áviṁ vṛdhāma śagmiyam sákhāyam  
váruṇam putrám ádityā īśirám |  
kaviśastāny asmai vāpūṁsy  
avocāma ródasī satyavācā* ||

This verse too, as also the other verses of this hymn, is  
obscure ; compare Whitney's observation (*AV. Trans.*,  
p. 200), ‘This hymn is intentionally and most successfully  
obscure’. I reproduce here his (mechanical) translation  
with some alterations :

“Half with half milk thou mixest ; with half, O  
unovercome strength, thou growest. May we magnify

the beneficent friend, Varuṇa the vigorous son of Aditi, the sheep. We have spoken for him brilliant (hymns) praised by poets; the two firmaments of true speech”.

## § 5

*svāsara*

The attempts so far made to elucidate the meaning of this word are not satisfactory. The author of the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* has mentioned this word three times—once (1,9) as a synonym of *ahas*, day, once, (3, 4) as a synonym of *gr̥ha*, dwelling, and once (4, 2) without mentioning any meaning. The deficiency in this last instance is made good by Yāska who has interpreted it as *ahas*. This meaning *ahas* is repeated by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara in their commentaries on VS. 26, 11 and by Devarāja in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*. Sāyaṇa, on the other hand, has, in his RV commentary, made use not only of the meaning *ahas* and *gr̥ha* (with suitable modifications, as for instance, *yāgāhan* 9, 94, 2; *kulāya* 2, 19, 2; *goṣṭha* 2, 2, 2, etc.) but has in addition interpreted the word as *āditya* in 5, 62, 2, as *mārga* in 6, 68, 10, and as *śarīra* in 1, 34, 7; see Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 111.

Roth has assigned to this word the meanings (1) Hürde, Stall; (2) Gewohnter Ort, Wohnplatz, Wohnung, Nistplatz der Vögel; that is to say, he has confined himself to the meaning *gr̥ha* and rejected the meaning *ahas*. This meaning, however, hardly yields good sense in many of the passages where the word occurs; and Geldner has, therefore, in his article on this word (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 110 ff.), investigated anew its meaning, and starting with the assumption that it means both a place and a time of day (as declared by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu*), has come to the conclusion that *svāsara*

means (1) Frühtrieb, Morgenweide; the time before *samgava* when the cows graze freely on the pasture; (2) Frühausflug aus dem Nest, die Morgenatzung with regard to birds; and (3) die Frühmesse, Frühlibation, and, *upalakṣaṇa*, all the three *savanāni* or libations'. This interpretation is approved of by Macdonell (see his *Vedic Index*, s. v. *ahan*, *go*, *svasara*) and apparently by Oldenberg also who translates (*RV. Noten* I, 260) 3, 60, 6c as 'Diese Weiden bieten sich dir dar.' Hillebrandt, on the other hand, translates (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 80) 5, 62, 2c as 'Ihr macht alle Milchströme des (himmlischen) Stalles strotzen' and seems therefore still to follow Roth in his interpretation of the word.

It seems to me that the translations given above of 3, 60, 6 and 5, 62, 2 by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt are hardly satisfactory. Nor are Geldner's translations (given in his *RV. Uebersetzung*) of 1, 34, 7cd ('Drei Entfernungen kommt ihr Wagenlenker Aśvin her zu Frühmesse wie der Windhauch zur Frühweide'), 2, 19, 2cd ('dass die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen') and 3, 60, 6cd ('Dir stehen diese [Soma-] weiden zur Verfügung auf Geheiss der Götter und nach den Satzungen des Menschen') any better: they indicate that the meanings proposed by Geldner for the word *svásara* are not correct and that they need to be revised.

The reason for such incorrectness, too, is not far to seek. Geldner has begun his exposition (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 111) with the observations (1) that the verses 2, 34, 8: *dhenúr ná śísve svásareṣu pínvate*; 2, 2, 2: *abhí tvā náktīr uśáso vavāśiré 'gne vatsám ná svásareṣu dhenávaḥ*; 8, 88,

<sup>1</sup> In his *RV. Glossar*, Geldner gives two meanings only, 'Frühweide, Frühatzung, fig. für die Morgenlibation 1, 3, 8; 2, 34, 5; 8, 90, 1' for this word. It is uncertain whether he has given up the other meanings or merely abstained from reproducing them here as being (in his opinion) inappropriate in the verses referred to.

1: *abhī vatsām ná svāsareṣu dhenāva indram gīrbhīr navāmahe*; 9, 94, 2: *dhīyaḥ pinvānāḥ svāsare ná gāva ṛtāyāntīr abhī vāvaśra indum* show that the cows ooze with milk and low for their calves at the time or place of *svāsara*, and (2) that the the verses 1, 186, 5: *śiśum ná pipyūṣīva veti sindhuḥ* and 2, 16, 8: *dhenūr ná vatsām yāvasasya pipyūṣī* show that the milch-cow longs for and returns to her calf when she is *pipyuṣī* or *yavasasya pipyūṣī*. These observations are unexceptionable<sup>2</sup>, and when taken into consideration along with the statement in Tait. Br. 1, 4, 9, 2: (*tasmāt trir ahnaḥ paśavaḥ prerate | prātaḥ saṁgave sāyam*) that the cows went out to graze thrice a day, *prātaḥ*, *saṁgave* and *sāyam*, they point to the conclusion that the cows returned home from the pasture thrice a day oozing with milk and longing and lowing for their calves. Similarly, Geldner's further observation (p. 113) that *svasara* denotes the time when the cows roam about and freely graze on the pastures (*sva-sara*), supposing that it is correct, points, when taken in conjunction with the above statement of the Tait. Br., to the conclusion that there are three periods of time in each day which can be denoted by the word *svasara* and not one period only, that preceding the *saṁgava* time, as stated by Geldner.

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<sup>2</sup> Except that, as regards the second observation, the word *pipyūṣī* in 2, 16, 8 has no connection with the word *yāvasasya* which precedes it and which is to be construed with the verb *abhy ā vavṛtsva*. The cow moreover does not long for her calf when she is *pipyuṣī* but becomes *pipyuṣī* [i.e., oozing with milk] when she remembers and longs for her calf or sees it; compare Kirātārjunīya 4, 10: *upārātāḥ paścimarātrigocarād apārayantaḥ patitum jareṇa gām | tam utsukāś cakrur avekṣaṇātsukam gavām gaṇāḥ prasnutapīvaraudhasaḥ* and the commentator's explanation *utsukā vatseṣṇātkañthitāḥ, prasnutapīvaraudhaso vatsasmaraṇāt sravatpināpināḥ*; Raghuvamśa 1, 84: *bhuvam koṣṇena kuṇḍodhni medhyenāvabhṛthād api | prasravenābhivarṣanti vatsālokapravartinā*; Yaśastilakacampū, 2, 184: *kvacid vatsekṣaṇa-kṣaṇa-kṣarat-stana-dhenu-dugdha-dhārā-dhāvyaṁ māna-dhārāpīṭham*.

Now, what are the three times of the day when the cows were driven out to graze? It has been remarked, in this connection, by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, s. v. *go*, note 4) that the exact sense of the above-mentioned passage of the Tait. Br. (1, 4, 9, 2) is obscure and that 'strictly speaking, the cows were driven out from the cattleshed in the morning, spent the heat of the day in the Saṁgavinī, were then driven out during the evening to graze and finally came or were driven home.' That is to say, the cows were, according to him, driven out to graze twice only in the day—in the morning before *saṁgava*, and in the afternoon after *saṁgava*, and not thrice. This view seems to me to be untenable, and I am disposed to think that the statement of the Tait. Br. is correct and that the cows were driven out to graze thrice a day—in the morning (*prātaḥ*), in the *saṁgava* time (*saṁgave*), and in the evening (*sāyam*), that is to say, in the latter part of the night (*paścimarātra*) before the morning-milking, in the late morning after the morning-milking, and in the afternoon some time after the *saṁgava*-milking, and that they returned or were driven home from the pasture before the morning-milking, before the *saṁgava*-milking, and before the evening-milking respectively. Compare also Bhaṭṭabhāskara's comment (p. 235) *tasmād ahnas triḥ prerate paśavaś caraṇārtham pratiṣṭhante prātaḥ saṁgave sāyam ca* on this passage.

The return home of the milch-cows has been described frequently by the later Sanskrit classical writers from whose writings I reproduce here some passages on this subject :

1. *upāratāḥ paścimarātrigocarād*  
*apārayantaḥ patitum javena gām |*  
*tam utsukāś cakrur avekṣaṇotsukam*  
*gavām gaṇāḥ prasnutapīvaraudhasaḥ ||*

2. *nirvāti vāsare astācala-kūṭa-kirīṭe niculamañjarī-  
bhāmsi tejāmsi muñcati viyan-muci marīci-mālini  
divasa-vihṛti-pratyāgatam prasruta-stanam sta-  
nam-dhaye dhayati dhenuvargam udgata-kṣīram  
kṣudhita-tarṇaka-vrāte*

Harṣacarita (Nirṇayasāgara ed., p. 80).

3. *anindyā Nandinī nāma dhenur āvavṛte vanāt ||*  
 . . . . .  
*bhuvam koṣṇena kuṇḍodhnī medhyenāvabhṛthād apī  
prasravenābhivarṣanti vatsāloka pravartinā ||*

Raghuvamśa (1, 82-84)

4. *sa naicikīḥ pratyaham ātapānte  
pratyuktaghoṣā iva vatsanādaiḥ |  
madhūni vaṁśadhvanibhiḥ prayacchan  
nināya bhūyo 'pi nivāsabhūmim ||*

Yādavābhyudaya 4, 89.

5. *sāyam gato yāmayamena Mādhavaḥ ||  
gāvas tato goṣṭham upetya satvaram  
hukāraghoṣaiḥ parihūtasamgatān |  
svakān svakān vatsatarān apāyayan  
muhur lihantyaḥ sravad audhasam payah ||*

Śrīmad-Bhāgavata 10. 13. 23-24.

6. *vimucyamāneṣu sandhyopāsanañjali-mukuleṣu  
. . . . . vighaṭamāneṣu cakravāka-mithuneṣu  
. . . . . mukharībhavatsu mathyamāneṣu  
arṇavārṇassv iva abhyarṇa-tarṇaka-svanākar-  
nanodīrṇena dhenuṣyāṇām dīrgha-rambhitāra-  
veṇa gopuramukheṣu*

Yaśastilaka-campū 2, p. 10.

The first of these passages describes the return home of the cows from the *paścimarātrigocara*, longing (*utsuka*) for their calves and with their udders oozing milk. *paścimarātrigocara* means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night; and hence this verse describes the return home of the cows before

the *prātardoha*.<sup>3</sup> The other passages refer to the return home of the milch-cows in the evening and likewise represent these cows as eager to rejoin their calves, lowing to them, and hastening to them (*goṣṭham upetya satvaram*) with their udders oozing milk (*prasnutastanam*; *prasraveṇa*; *sraavad audhasaṁ payaḥ*).

This eagerness of the cows to join their calves, their lowing to them and their hastening to them with udders oozing milk are features that figure also in innumerable verses of the RV that contain comparisons. Compare for instance 10, 149, 4: *vāśréva vatsám sumánā dúhānā pátir iva jāyām abhí no ny ètu*; 10, 75, 4: *abhí tvā sindho śísum ín ná mātáro vāśrá arṣanti páyaseva dhenávaḥ*; 1, 38, 8: *vāśréva vidyūn mimāti vatsám ná mātā siṣakti*; 1, 32, 2: *vāśrá iva dhenávaḥ syándamānā āñjah samudrām áva jagmur āpah*; 1, 164, 28: *gaúr amīmed ánu vatsám miṣántam mūrdhānam hīnī akr̥ṇon mātavā u | śṣkvāṇam gharmām abhí vāvaśānā mimāti māyūm páyate páyobhiḥ*; 9, 86, 2: *ásṛkṣata ráthyāso yáthā pṛthak | dhenúr ná vatsám páyasābhí vajriṇam*. In the same way, the lowing of the calves for their mother-cows and the licking of the calves by the cows (see Bhāgavata, 10, 13, 24 cited above) are likewise referred to in many RV verses; compare, in respect of the former, 1, 164, 9: *ámīmed vatsó ánu gām apaśyat*; 9, 94, 4: *tām vāvaśānām matáyaḥ sacante*; 10, 1, 2: *prá mātṛbhyo ádhi kánikradad gāḥ* and in respect of the latter, 3, 41, 5: *rihānti śávasas pátim | indram vatsám ná mātáraḥ*; 3, 55, 13: *anyásyā vatsám rihatī mimāya*;

<sup>3</sup> The *prātardoha* takes place in the morning and the cows are immediately after driven out again to the pasture. This pasture can not be denoted by the word *paścimarātri-gocara* which means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night. In the Kannaḍa country, it is known as *ibbani mevu* 'pasture on which dew is falling or has just fallen'; and in the Tamil country it is known as *śiru viḍu*; see *Tiruppāvai* translated in Indian Antiquary, Vol. 55, p. 163, stanza 8, and also *ibid*, 56, 107, n. 10.

1, 186, 7 : *sīsum ná gāvas tārūṇam rihanti* ; 3, 33, 3 : *vatsām iva mātārā samrihāné*.

The passages cited above describe the return home of the milch-cows in the early morning (before the *prātar-doha*) and in the evening (before the *sāyam-doha*) only. I do not know of any which describes their return home at the *saṃgava* time<sup>4</sup> (before the *saṃgava* milking)<sup>5</sup> ; but it can not be doubted that, at that time too, the milch-cows would be eager to rejoin their calves and would hasten to them, lowing and with their udders oozing milk. The oozing of milk from the cows' udders is thus not the characteristic of a place, but of a **time**—the time when the milch-cows return home<sup>6</sup> from the pasture and are milked. This, as we have seen above, takes place three times a day—*prātaḥ*,

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<sup>4</sup> That they did return home before the *saṃgava* time is clearly indicated by Tait. Br., 1, 5, 3, 1 : *mitrasya saṃgavaḥ | tat puṇyam tejasvy ahaḥ | tasmāt tarhi paśavaḥ samāyanti* and Bhaṭṭabhāskara's comment *diganteṣu caritvā vrajaṃ samāgacchanti* thereon.

<sup>5</sup> This is perhaps due to the fact that while the *prātardoha* and *sāyam-doha* are universal, the *saṃgava-doha* as well as the return home of the cows at that time, is not. Compare for instance the passage in the Raghuvamśa beginning with 2, 1 : *atha prajānām adhipaḥ prabhāte jāyāpratigrāhitagandhamālyām | vanāya pīta-pratibaddha-vatsām yaśodhano dhenum ṛṣer mumoca* which states that the king let loose the cow in order to go and graze in the forest at daybreak after the morning milking, and ending with 2, 15 : *saṃcārapūtāni digantarāṇi kṛtvā dinānte nilayāya gantum | pracakrame pallavarāgatāmā prabhā pataṅgasya munē ca dhenuḥ* which says that the milch-cow turned her face home in the evening after having roamed about all the day. It is obvious from this passage that Vasiṣṭha's *homadhenu* did not return home, and was not milked, at *saṃgava* time. Compare also the epithet *divasa-vihṛti-pratyā-gatam* that is applied to *dhenuvargam* in the Harṣacarita passage cited above.

<sup>6</sup> And hence I would derive the word *svasara* as *svam* svakiyaṃ sthānaṃ *saranti* pratyā gacchanti yasmin kāle gāvas tat *svasaram*.



*saṁgave* and *sāyam* or roughly, in the three *sandhyā* or *savana* times. It is these three times of the day that are denoted by the word *svāsara*.

*svāsara* is thus approximately equivalent to *sandhyā*, and in the plural, may be said to be a synonym of the word *trīsandhya* or *triṣavaṇa*. It is a *kālavācakaśabda* or word denoting time; and as such, it can be used in sentences to denote the time "when" not only in the locative case, but in the accusative and genitive cases also; see Whitney, §§274c, 300a, and 302b. Compare also Gaedicke (p. 178): "Der Accusativ von Zeitbegriffen besagt, dass der Vorgang während ihrer Dauer, der Genitiv, dass er während eines Theils derselben, der Locativ, dass er zwischen ihren Grenzen, der Instrumental, dass er mit ihrem Eintritt und Verlauf stattfindet. Daher kann die Frage 'wie lange' nur durch den Accusative beantwortet werden, während das 'wann' durch alle vier Casus bestimmt werden kann."

Like the word *sandhyā* which, though denoting the three *sandhyā* times, morning, noon and evening, is sometimes used in the sense of 'evening' only (see Apte), the word *svāsara* too, seems frequently to be used in the sense of 'evening.' This seems to be the case in the verses which refer to the cows oozing milk for their calves or lowing to them. And likewise there seems to be no doubt that *svāsara* means 'evening' in verses 2, 19, 2 and 2, 34, 5, where it is mentioned in connection with birds (*vayaḥ*; *haṁsāḥ*); for it is well-known that birds return to their nests in the evening and this fact is referred to in many passages in the later classical literature also. Compare for instance:

*ākulaś cala-patatri-kulānām*  
*āravair āmuditaṣṣa-rāgaḥ |*  
*āyayāv aharidaśva-vipāṇḍus*  
*tulyatām dina-mukhena dināntaḥ ||*

: Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (1911, p. 308, v. 27)

*paripatati payonidhau pataṅgaḥ  
sarasiruhām udareṣu matta-bhr̥ṅgaḥ |  
upavana-taru-koṭare vihaṅgas  
taruṇi-janeṣu śanaiśśanair anaṅgaḥ ||*

Ibid. (v. 45)

*āvāsotsuka-pakṣiṇaḥ kalarutaṁ krāmanti vṛkṣālayān  
.....  
dhatte cāruṇatām gato ravir asāv astācalaṁ cumbati |*

Ibid. (p. 309, v. 68)

*aparāhṇa-śītalatareṇa śanair  
anilena lolita-latāṅgulaḥ |  
nilayāya sākhina ivākvayate  
dadur ākulāḥ khagakulāni girāḥ ||*

Māgha (9, 4)

*vihāya dharaṇītalām unmucya kamalinī-vanāni śakunaya  
iva divasāvusāne iapovana-taru-śikhareṣu parvatāgreṣu  
ca ravi-kiraṇāḥ sthiliṁ akurvata |*

Kādambarī (B.S.S. ed., p. 47)

*lokāntaram upagatatavy anurāgaśeṣe jāte tejasām adhīṣe  
... avataratas tridaśavimāna-kiṅkiṇī-kvaṇita iva śrūya-  
māṇe sākhī-śikhara-kulāya-līyamāna-śakuni-kula-kūjite |*

Harṣacarita (p. 170)

*śubhetarālāpa-samvaraṇa-pareva vistāritānibaddha-  
kolāhalāni śakuni-kulāni taru-kulāya-koṭareṣv asūṣu  
(so!) upavana-rājīḥ . . . . kramaṇa cātikrānte  
pradoṣa-samaye . . . .*

Tilakamañjarī (p. 160)

I have no doubt that it is this home-coming of the birds in the evening that is referred to by the above-mentioned RV verses (2, 19, 2; and 2, 34, 5). And similarly, it is my belief that the word *svāsara* denotes 'evening' in verses 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc., where it is mentioned in connection with cows. It is true that (in the language of the poets) the cows return home with milk-oozing udders and low to their calves not only in the

evening, but in the other two *svāsara* times also, namely, in the morning and forenoon. But the paucity of references in the later classical literature to the home-coming of the cows in these two *svāsara* times, combined with the many references to their home-coming in the evening, makes me think that the RV poets too had this home-coming of the cows at evening in their mind when they used the word *svāsara* in connection with cows in 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc.<sup>7</sup>

I shall now show that the above-mentioned meaning, namely, *sandhyā* time or evening, fits into the context and yields good sense in all the passages where the word *svāsara* occurs. I begin with

1, 3, 8: *viśve devāso aptúraḥ sutám ā ganta tūrṇayaḥ |  
usrā iva svāsarāṇi ||*

“O ye All-Gods, come ye here, conquering the waters (in respect of rapid motion), quick, to the Soma juice, as cows in the evening.” *svāsarāṇi*=*svasareṣu*. The comparison *usrā iva svāsarāṇi* means *yathā usrāḥ svasareṣu vatsān prati satvaram gacchanti tathā*. This idea of swiftness is expressed, besides, by the epithets *tūrṇayaḥ* and *aptúraḥ*. The *savana* time that is proper to the Viśvedevas is the third or evening *savana*: compare Ch. Up. 2, 24, 1: *ādityānām ca viśveṣām ca devānām tṛtīyasavanam*; and though this verse is, in the ritual, (Āś. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 10, 5) prescribed for recitation in connection with the Vaiśvadevagraha of the *prātasavana*, it is not improbable that it was originally recited in connection with the evening *savana* and that the word *svāsarāṇi* is to be construed with the verb *āganta* also.

1, 34, 7: *trīr no aśvinā yajatā divē-dive  
pāri tridhātu pṛthivīm aśāyatam |  
tisrō nāsatyā rathyā parāvāta  
ātmēva vātaḥ svāsarāṇi gacchatam ||*

<sup>7</sup>I have, therefore, in what follows, translated *svāsara* as ‘evening’ in these verses. It is, however, open to those who do not share my above-expressed belief to translate the word as ‘*sandhyā* time.’

“Thrice every day, O ye worshipful Aśvins, do ye come to the threefold earth, to us. O ye Aśvins that ride on chariots, ye go (*i.e.*, pass) through the three distant places at the *sandhyā* times (as swiftly) as the swift-moving wind.” With regard to the last pāda, compare 1, 79, 1: *vāta iva dhrājīmān*; 1, 163, 11: *tūva cittām vāta iva dhrājīmān*; 10, 95, 2: *durāpanā vāta ivāhām asmi*; 4, 38, 3: *rathatūram vātām iva dhrājantam*; 7, 33, 8: *vātasyeva prajāvo nānyēna*; 10, 78, 3: *vātāso nā yē dhūnayo jīgatnūvaḥ*, etc., all which contain comparisons referring to the swiftness of the wind.

2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā náktir uśāso vavāśirē*  
*'gne vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenūvaḥ |*  
*divā ivéd aratir mānuṣā yugā*  
*kṣāpo bhāsi puruvāra samyātāḥ ||*

“For thee, O Agni, did they low, in the nights and in the mornings, as milch-cows do for their calf in the *sandhyā* times. Being bright, thou shinest, as in day so in the nights, successively, throughout man's life, O thou that hast many desirable things.”

It is the opinion of Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I. 189) that the words *náktīḥ* and *uśāsaḥ* are in the nominative case and should be regarded as the subject of the verb *vavāśire*, the verse being translated as: ‘dir haben Nächte und Morgenröten zugebrüllt.’ This is the opinion of Bloomfield also (*RV. Repetitions* I, p. 162) who refers to 9, 94, 2 (in which I find nothing bearing on this point) in this connection; and Sāyaṇa too has given this as an alternative explanation.

There is however no verse elsewhere in the RV in which the Nights and Dawns are represented as crying after Agni. I prefer therefore to regard *náktīḥ* and *uśāsaḥ* as being in the accusative case and used here in adverbial sense. This is the view of Sāyaṇa also in his first explanation and of Geldner. As subject of the verb *vavāśire* we have to understand either the priests or the

prayers; compare 10, 64, 15: *grāvā yātra madhuśūḍ ucyāte brhād āvivaśanta matibhir manīṣiṇaḥ* and 1, 62, 3: *sām usrīyābhir vāvaśanta nāraḥ* where the priests are said to have lowed for the gods and for Indra; and also 8, 44, 25: *āgne dhṛtāvratāya te samudrāyeva sīndhavaḥ | giro vāśrāsa irate* and 7, 5, 5: *tvām agne harīto vāvaśānā girāḥ sacante dhūnayo ghṛtāciḥ* where the prayers (*girāḥ*) are said to low after Agni and run to him. Compare also 9, 63, 21: *matī viprāḥ sām asvaran* where the priests are said to cry after Soma with prayers.

2, 19, 2: *asyā mandānó mādhuo vājrahastó  
'him indro arṇovṛtaṁ ví vṛscat |  
prá yád váyo ná svāsarāṇy ācchā  
práyāṃsi ca nadīnām cákramanta ||*

“Exhilarated with this sweet juice, Indra, who carries the Vajra in his hand, cut off the dragon who had confined the waters, so that, like birds in the evening, the pleasing (*i.e.*, refreshing) waters of the rivers, too, moved swiftly towards (the sea).”

The reference here is to Indra's well-known exploit of the liberation of the Waters and Cows after slaying the dragon; and I therefore agree with Sāyaṇa in his opinion that the word *samudram* is to be supplied after *āccha* in the second half-verse. Compare the next verse: *indro árṇo apām prairayad ahihācchā samudrām*; see also Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 115, who, in his *RV. Uebersetzung*, however, construes *āccha* with the word *svāsarāṇi* and translates: ‘die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen.’<sup>8</sup>

It is hard to explain why the word *ca* has been used in pāda 4. Its use implies that something else, besides the *práyāṃsi*, moved swiftly; and what this something

<sup>8</sup> He has similarly construed *āccha* with *svāsarāṇi* in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52 also where he has translated: ‘wie Vögel zur Morgenatzung, (die Fluten) und der Wonnetrank der Flüsse davoneilten.’

else is, it is difficult to determine; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, I, 203. Perhaps it is the *arṇāmsi*, torrents, referred to by the word *arṇovṛtam* in pāda b (compare also the words *árṇo apām* in the next verse). This is the view of Geldner in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52, though in this case, it is difficult to make a distinction between the *arṇāmsi* and *prayāmsi*. Or perhaps, it is the cows that Indra sets free with the waters or rivers (compare 1, 32, 12: *ájayo gā ájayaḥ sūra sómam ávāsṛjaḥ sártave saptá síndhūn* and 2, 23, 18: *táva śriyē vy ājihīta párvato gāvām gotrām udásṛjo yád āngirah | índreṇa yujā tāmasā párvivṛtaṁ býhaspate nír apām aubjo arṇavám*) and that are likewise mentioned in the next verse: *índro árṇo apām prairayad ahihācchā samudrām | ájanayat sūryam vidád gā aktúnāhnām vayúnāni sādhat*. Compare also 1, 61, 10: *índraḥ | gā ná vrāṇā avánir amuñcat* 'Indra set free, like the cows, the rivers that were confined.'

Here too, *svásarāṇi*=*svásareṣu*. The point of comparison in the simile *váyo ná svásarāṇi* 'like birds in the evening,' is swiftness which, though not mentioned, is to be understood here; compare in this respect the verse 1, 3, 8 (explained above) where too the *sāmānyadharma* is not mentioned.

I have cited above many passages from classical Sanskrit writers which describe the return of birds to their nests in the evening. One only of these, namely, *āvāsotsukapakṣiṇaḥ kalarutaṁ krāmantī vrkṣālayān . . .* mentions that the birds are 'eager,' i.e., hurrying, to return to their nests: the other passages make no mention of this feature. To compensate for this, there are many RV verses that make no mention of evening-time, but refer, expressly or implicitly, to the swift movement of the birds when returning to their nests. Compare, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citródhrajatir aratir yó aktór vēr ná druṣádvā raghupátmajamhāḥ* 'of wonderful speed, shining at night, with swift-flying wings like a bird

that is going to sit on a tree (i.e., that is going to its nest; compare particularly the words *āvāsa* and *vṛkṣālaya* in the passage *āvāsotsukapakṣiṇaḥ kalarutam . . .* cited above); 1, 25, 4: *pārā hi me vimanyavaḥ pātanti vāsya-iṣṭaye | vāyo nā vasatīr ūpa*, 'like birds to their nests, my prayers fly swift, seeking good fortune'; 1, 30, 4: *ayām u te sām atasī kapotā iva garbhadhīm* 'this (Soma juice) is for thee; thou fliest to it as swiftly as a dove does to its nest'; 1, 33, 2: *ūpéd aḥām dhanadām apratitam jūṣṭām nā śyenó vasatīm patāmi* 'I fly swiftly to him, the giver of riches, the irresistible, as the falcon flies to its own dwelling-place'; 1, 183, 1: *tām yuñjāthām mánaso yó jávīyān trivandhuró vṛṣaṇā yás tricakráḥ | yénopayāthāḥ sukṛto duroṇām tridhātunā patatho vír nā páruṇaiḥ* 'yoke, ye two bulls, that (chariot), which is swifter than thought, has three seats, three wheels and three parts, and on which ye come, ye fly swiftly, to the dwelling of the pious person like a bird that flies with its wings to its dwelling-place'; 10, 115, 3: *tām vo vim nā druśadam . . . máhivratam nā sarájan-tam ádhvanah* 'him (sc. Agni), who moves (as swiftly) as a bird that is going to sit on a tree (i.e., that is going to its nest) . . . raising dust over paths like a mighty person.'<sup>9</sup> Compare also 9, 72, 5: *āprāḥ krátūn sām ajair adhvaré matīr vér nā druśac camvòr āsadat dháriḥ*; 9, 61, 21: *sámmitlo aruśó bhava sūpasthābhir nā dhenúbhiḥ | sīdañc chyenó nā yónim ā*; 9, 62, 4: *āsāvy amśúr mādāyāpsú dáksḥ giriṣṭhāḥ | śyenó nā yónim āsadat*; 9, 71, 6: *śyenó nā yónim sádanam dhiyā kṛtām hiranyáyam āsadam devá ēṣati | é riṇanti barhiṣi priyām girā* 'svo nā devāñ ápy eti yajñīyah'; 9, 82, 1: *āsavi sómo*

<sup>9</sup> *sarájantam*, I conceive, is the participle of a denominative verb formed from *saraja* (*sa*+*raja* which is another form of *rajas*; see PW, s.v., *raja* and *saraja*) and meaning 'to make dusty; to raise dust.' Regarding the simile *máhivratam nā sarájantam ádhvanah*, cf. 10, 40, 3: *kásya dhvasrá bhavathaḥ kásya vā narā rājaputrēva sávanāva gacchathaḥ*.

*aruṣó vṛṣā hāri rājeva dasmó abhī gā acikradat | punānó vāram páry ety avyáyam śyenó ná yónim ghṛtāvāntam āśadam*; 9, 86, 35: *īsam ūrjam pavamānābhy ārṣasi śyenó ná vámsu kalāśeṣu sīdasi*; 10, 43, 4: *váyo ná vṛkṣām supalāśām āsadan sómāsa índram mandīnaś camūśadaḥ* where the idea of swiftness is implied by the comparison with the bird or falcon 'sitting,' i.e., going to sit, in its nest.<sup>10</sup>

The comparison *váyo ná svāsarāṇi* therefore in the above half-verse (*prá yád váyo ná svāsarāṇy ācchā práyāmsi ca nadīnām cákramanta*) means 'as swiftly as birds (fly to their dwelling-places) in the evening.' The idea of swiftness is referred to clearly in other passages also that describe the running forth of the Waters or rivers after their liberation by Indra: compare 3, 32, 6: *tvám apó yád dha vṛtrám jaghanvāñ átyāñ iva prāsrjajāh sártavājaú*; 1, 32, 2: *áhann áhim párvate śisṛiyāṇām . . vāśrā iva dhenávaḥ syāndamānā āñjah samudrām áva jagmur āpaḥ*; 1, 130, 5: *tvám vṛthā nadyā indra sártavécchā samudrām asṛjo ráthāñ iva vājayató ráthāñ iva*; 2, 15, 3: *vājreṇa khāny atrṇan nadīnām | vṛthā 'srjat pathībhir dīrghayāthāih*; 4, 17, 3: *vádhīd vṛtrám vājreṇa mandasānāḥ sárann āpo jávasā hatāvṛṣṇih*; 10, 111, 9-10: *sṛjāḥ síndhūir áhinā jagrasānāñ ād id etāḥ prá vivijre javéna | múmukṣamāṇā utá yā mumucré 'dhéd etā ná ramante nítiktāḥ || sadhrīcīḥ síndhum usatīr ivāyan.*

2, 34, 5: *índhanvaōbhir dhenúbhi rapsádūdhabhir adhvasmābhiḥ pathībhir bhrājadyṣṭayaḥ |*

<sup>10</sup> This idea of swiftness is expressed clearly in other verses and similes; cf., for instance, 9, 62, 8: *só arṣēndrāya pītāye tiró rómāny avyáyā | sīdan yónā vāneṣv ā*; 9, 62, 16: *pāvamānaḥ sutó nṛbhiḥ sómo vājam ivāsarāt | camūṣu śákmanāsadam*; 9, 62, 19: *āvisān kalāśam sutó víśvā ārṣann abhī śrīyaḥ | śúro ná gōṣu tiṣṭhati*; 9, 64, 20: *ā yád yónim hiranyáyam āsúr ṛtāsya sīdati* 9, 87, 1: *prá tú drava pári kōsam ní śīda nṛbhiḥ punānó abhī vājam arṣa.*



*ā haṁsāso ná svāsarāṇi gantana  
mādhora mādāya marutaḥ samanyavaḥ ||*

“ With the flaming (?) cows whose udders are full, come, O ye Maruts that are of the same mind, and that have bright spears, by dustless roads for the delight of the sweet (drink), (as swiftly) as swans in the evening.”

The exact meaning of *indhanvabhiḥ*, which occurs in this one passage only, is not known. The sense of *pāda* a too, is somewhat obscure.

*svāsarāṇi* in this verse too is equivalent to *svasareṣu*. The comparison *haṁsāso ná svāsarāṇi* refers, not to the genus bird, like 6, 3, 5 ; 1, 25, 4 ; 1, 183, 1 ; etc., cited above, but to a particular species of birds ; it resembles in this respect the verses 1, 30, 4 : *ayām u te sām atasī kapotā iva garbhadhīm* and 1, 33, 2 : *jūṣṭām ná śyenó vasatīm patāmi* (also cited above) which likewise refer to particular species of birds. The *sāmānyadharma*, however, is the same, to wit, swiftness, in all these verses.

2, 34, 8 : *yād yuñjāte marúto rukmāvakṣasó  
'śvān rátheṣu bhága ā sudānavaḥ |  
dhenúr ná śísve svāsareṣu pinvate  
jánāya rātāhaviṣe mahīm íṣam ||*

“ When the liberal Maruts, with ornaments on their breasts, yoke their horses in the chariots for the purpose of blessing, they ooze copious refreshments for him who has offered oblations as the milch-cow (does) to her calf in the evenings.”

3, 60, 6 : *indra ṛbhumān vājavān matsvehá no  
'smín sāvane śácyā puruṣtuta |  
imāni túbhyaṁ svāsarāṇi yemire  
vratā devānām mānuṣaś ca dhārmabhiḥ ||*

“ Indra, delight thou now here ardently with the Ṛbhus and Vāja in this our oblation of the Soma juice, O thou that art much praised. These *savana* times are set apart for thee according to the ordinance of the gods

and the customs of man." Note the juxtaposition of the sentences, *asmīn sāvane matsva* and *imāni túbhyaṃ svásarāṇi jemire* which too points to the conclusion that *svásara* denotes the time of *savana*.

3, 61, 4 : *áva syūmeva cinvatī maghóny*  
*uṣā yāti svásarasya pátnī |*  
*svār jánantī subhágā sudúmsā*  
*ántād diváh paṇṇathā á prthivyáh ||*

"Gathering rays, as it were, comes the liberal Dawn, the ruler of *sandhyā*. Bringing out the sun, she who is beautiful and has great might, has spread to the end of heaven and of earth."

The meaning of the expression *áva syūmeva cinvatī* is obscure. The epithet *svásarasya pátnī* is appropriate to Uṣas, because she is the deity that presides over the *sandhyā* time.

5, 62, 2 : *tát sú vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvām*  
*irmā tasthūṣīr āhabhir duduhre |*  
*vīśvāḥ pinvathāḥ svásarasya dhénā*  
*ánu vām ékaḥ pavír á vavarta ||*

"This, O Mitra and Varuṇa, is your greatness, (namely), that those who are here were milked day by day. You make all the prayers ooze (*i.e.*, yield favourable results) at *sandhyā* time; the felly alone revolved after you."

The signification of *irmā* in pāda b is obscure. Regarding pāda c compare 5, 71, 12 : *vīśvasya hí pracetasā vāruṇa mitra rājathāḥ | īsānā pīpyatam dhīyaḥ* ; 9, 19, 2 : *yuvām hí sthīḥ svarpatī indraś ca soma gópatī | īsānā pīpyatam dhīyaḥ* ; 10, 64, 12 : *tām (dhiyam) pīpayata páyaseva dhenúm*.

6, 68, 10 : *indrāvaruṇā sutapāv imām sutām*  
*sómaṃ pibatam mádyam dhṛtavratā |*  
*yuvó rátho adhvarām devāvītaye*  
*prāti svásaram úpa yāti pītāye ||*

“O Indra and Varuṇa who uphold the ordinances, drink, ye Soma-drinkers, this exhilarating Soma-juice that has been pressed. Your chariot comes towards evening to the sacrifice for the meal of the gods, that you may drink.” This verse is one of those that are prescribed to be recited in the course of the third or evening *savana* (see Āś. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 5, 19); and hence it is likely that *svāsara* is used here in the sense of ‘evening.’

8, 88, 1: *tām vo dasmām ṛtīśāham*  
*vāsor mandānām āndhasaḥ |*  
*abhī vatsām ná svāsareṣu dhenāva*  
*īndram gīrbhīr navāmahe ||*

“We cry with our hymns for mighty Indra, the conqueror in battles, who takes delight in the bright food (*i.e.*, the Soma juice), as milch-cows do for their calves in the evenings.”

8, 99, 1: *tvām idā hyó náró 'pīpyan vajrin bhūrṇayaḥ |*  
*sá indra stóma vāhasām*  
*ihá śrudhy úpa svāsaram ā gahi ||*

“The zealous men (*i.e.*, the priests), O Vajra-bearer, have made thee drink now and yesterday. Hear now, O Indra, the (priests) who bring forward (thy) praises; come towards the evening.”

9, 94, 2: *dvitā vyūrṇvānn amṛtasya dhāma*  
*svarvīde bhūvanāni prathanta |*  
*dhīyaḥ pinvānāḥ svāsare ná gāva*  
*ṛtāyántīr abhī vāvaśra indum ||*

“Opening again widely the abode of immortality, they spread the worlds for the finding of the sun. Oozing milk like cows in the evenings, the holy hymns lowed for Soma.”

AV. 7, 23, 2: *bradhnāḥ samīcīr uśasaḥ sām airayan |*  
*arepāsaḥ sácetasāḥ*  
*svāsare manyumáttamāś cité góḥ ||*

The import of this verse is obscure. I translate, following Whitney: "The bright one, sending out in *sandhyā* time the beautiful dawns, faultless, like-minded, most furious, in the gathering of the cow."

Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 20: *ādityebhyaḥ . . . maha svasarasya patibhyaḥ* |

"For the *Ādityas* who are the lords (*i.e.*, presiding deities) of the advanced (*i.e.*, the latest or third) *sandhyā* time." *maha svasarasya* means the 'advanced *svasara*' or 'third *svasara*'; compare the similar use of *mahā* in *mahārātra*. With regard to the third *savana*, compare Ch. Up. 2, 34, 1: *ādityānām ca viśveṣām ca devānām tṛtīyasavanam* (cited above), according to which this *savana* belongs to the *Ādityas* and *Viśvedevas*; compare also Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 1: *ādityānām tṛtīya-savanam*. The *Ādityas* are therefore here represented as presiding over the third *savana*, that is, over the third *svasara*.

## § 6

### *aratī*

The word *aratī* which I have above (p. 92) interpreted as 'bright' occurs in about thirty RV verses and has been differently explained by exegetists. Sāyaṇa has explained it variously as *svāmin* or *īśvara* (1, 59, 2; 1, 128, 6; 1, 128, 8; 2, 4, 2; 2, 2, 3; 6, 15, 4; 7, 10, 3; etc.); *vyāpta*, *vistṛta* (2, 2, 2; 2, 2, 3); *prāpa-yitr* (1, 58, 7); *gantr* or *abhigantr* (6, 3, 5; 6, 7, 1; etc.) and *aprīti* or *aramaṇa* (3, 17, 4; 4, 38, 4). Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara have interpreted the word as *alamati*, *paryāptamati* in VS. 7, 24 and 15, 32; and the latter has besides suggested the meanings *pūrakam*, *ratir uparatis tadrahitam* and *ratir uparamas tadrahitam*, *sadodyamayutam ity arthaḥ* for the word *aratim*. Simṛ-

larly, Bhaṭṭabhāskara too has paraphrased *arati* by *uparatirahita* in his commentary on Tait. Br. 2, 5, 4, 4, as does also Sāyaṇa in *ibid.*, 2, 8, 2, 4.

Roth (in PW) has interpreted the word as *Diener*, *Gehülfe*, *Verwalter*, *Ordner*, *administer* while Grassmann, differing from him, has said that the word means 'der das Opfer zurichtet, zu Stande bringt.' Oldenberg, in SBE, 45, has explained the word as 'steward.' Bergaigne (*Quarante Hymns*, V) translates it as 'ministre' and Ludwig and Griffiths as 'messenger.' Geldner, in his *Glossar* gives the meaning 'Herr' (which Hillebrandt also approves of; *Lieder des RV*, p. 22), but in his *Uebersetzung*, has translated the word as 'Lenker,' and 'Rosselenker.' He has also added the following explanatory note (p. 68): "Agni ist der *arati* der Götter (2, 4, 2), von Himmel und Erde (1, 59, 2; 2, 2, 3; 6, 49, 2; 10, 3, 7), des himmels (2, 2, 2; 10, 3, 2), der Erde (6, 7, 1). In Verbindung mit den Vasu's auch 10, 3, 2; *arati* ursprünglich wohl der Rosse- und Wagenlenker (der 'hyppelata') and dann der Lenker überhaupt. Für die Bedeutung 'Rosselenker' spricht bes. 4, 38, 4; 8, 19, 1 (*devāso devām aratīm dadhanvire*) und 2, 4, 2 (*aratīr jirāśvāḥ*). Als Bezeichnung des Agni verbindet sich *ar.* gern mit *dūtā* und *havyavāḥ* (3, 17, 4; 6, 15, 4; 7, 10, 3; 8, 19, 21; 10, 46, 4)."

None of these interpretations fits into the context in, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citrādhrajatir aratīr yó aktór vēr ná druśádṵā raghuṇātmajamhāḥ*; and hence it is my belief that none of them is correct.

The terms *īśvara* (Herr), *vyāpta*, *gantṛ*, *gopāḥ*, etc., refer to characteristics that are common to almost all RV deities and can be used as epithets of all such deities, while in fact, the word *arati* is used of Agni only. This in itself is enough to raise doubts in my mind as to whether *arati* means *īśvara*, (Herr), *vyāpta*, or *gantṛ*, etc. On the other hand, I believe that the correct signification of the

word *arati* is, in all probability, one that has specific reference to Agni, that in fact, *arati* means 'he who shines; the bright one; *śukra*; *pāvaka*.' I give here below the reasons for such belief.

I. The verse 10, 45, 7 : *uśík pāvakó aratíḥ sumedhā mārteṣv agnir amṛto nī dhāyi* is in most respects parallel to the verse 1, 60, 4 ; *uśík pāvakó vásur mānuṣāṇām vāreṇyo hótā dhāyi vikṣú* ; and it seems therefore (since *aratíḥ* cannot mean *vāreṇyaḥ*<sup>1</sup> and *sumedhāḥ* cannot mean *vásuḥ*) that *aratíḥ* is equivalent to *vásuḥ* or bright.

II. Again, five out of the thirty passages in which the word *arati* occurs, namely 1, 59, 2 (*aratí ródasyoḥ*) ; 2, 2, 3 (*divás pṛthivyór aratīm ny èvire*) ; 6, 49, 2 (*ádr̥ptakratum aratīm yuvatyóḥ*) ; 7, 5, 1 (*divó aratāye pṛthivyāḥ*) ; and 10, 3, 7 (*divás-pṛthivyór aratír yuvatyóḥ*) say that Agni is the *arati* of Heaven and Earth. Now what exactly is the relation between Agni on the one hand, and Heaven and Earth on the other, that is referred to by the word *arati* in these passages? An examination of the RV hymns addressed to Agni discloses that the following relations are mentioned therein:

1. Agni is the generator of Heaven and Earth (1, 96, 4 : *viśám gopā janitā ródasyoḥ*).
2. He is the son of Heaven and Earth (3, 3, 2 : *sá mātṛór abhavat putrá íḍyaḥ* ; cf. also 10, 1, 7 ; 10, 140, 2).
3. He 'glorified' his parents, Heaven and Earth, when he was born (3, 3, 11 : *ubhā pitārā maháyann ajāyatāgnir dyāvāpṛthiví*).
4. He 'renovated' his parents (*mātarā*), i.e., Heaven and Earth, again and again (3, 5, 7 : *púnah-punar mātārā núvyasī kah*).

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<sup>1</sup> This becomes clear from the context of the other verses where the word *arati* occurs, and where the meaning *vāreṇyaḥ* does not give good sense.

5. He 'saw' Heaven and Earth (3, 26, 8: *ād id dyāvāpṛthivī pāry apaśyat*).
6. He follows, i.e., is like to, Heaven and Earth in point of *prkṣa* or strength (2, 1, 15: *prkṣó yád ūtra mahinā ví te bhúvad ánu dyāvāpṛthivī ródasī ubhé*).
7. He supported Heaven and Earth (6, 8, 3: *vy āstabhnād ródasī mitró ádbhutaḥ*).
8. He is prayed to make Heaven and Earth well-inclined (2, 2, 7: *prācī dyāvāpṛthivī bráhmaṇā kṛdhi*).
9. He moves in Heaven and Earth as *dūta* 3, 3, 2,); *antár dūtó ródasī dasmá iyate*; cp. also 4, 7, 8; 7, 2, 3).
10. He enters into Heaven and Earth (10, 80, 2: *agnír mahī ródasī ā viveśa*; see also 3, 3, 4; 3, 7, 4; 3, 61, 7) or moves in them (10, 80, 1: *agnī ródasī ví carat smamañján*), adorning them.
11. He extends Heaven and Earth with his light (6, 1, 11: *ā yás tatántha ródasī ví bhāśā*; see also 10, 1, 7; 5, 1, 7; 6, 4, 6; 7, 5, 4; 10, 88, 3).
12. He brings Heaven and Earth to the sacrifice and offers oblations to them (6, 16, 24: *váso yakṣihá ródasī* and 3, 7, 9: *mahó devān ródasī éhá vakṣi*; see also 6, 12, 1; 6, 11, 4; 6, 15, 15; 3, 15, 5; 10, 11, 9); he offers oblations to them as *hotṛ* (3, 17, 2: *yáthā 'yajo hotṛám agne pṛthivyā yáthā divó jātavedas cikítvān | evānena havīṣā yakṣi devān*) or invokes them as *hotṛ* (7, 7, 3: *hótā | ā mātārā viśvāvāre huvānāḥ*).
13. He fills Heaven and Earth with light (6, 48, 6; *ā yáḥ paprau bhānúnā ródasī ubhé*; see also

- 1, 69, 1; 1, 73, 8; 3, 2, 7; 3, 3, 10; 3, 6, 2; 7, 13, 2; 10, 140, 2).
14. He surpasses Heaven and Earth in greatness (3, 6, 2; *ródasī . . utá prá rikthā ádha nú prayajyo*).
15. He rolls up Heaven and Earth like two skins (6, 8, 3: *ví cármanīva dhiśāṇe avartayat*).
16. He roars at Heaven and Earth (10, 8, 1: *á ródasī vṛṣabhó roravīti*).
17. He gladdens Heaven and Earth with his friendship (10, 88, 2: *tásya devāḥ pṛthivī dyaúr utápo 'raṇayann óṣadhīḥ sakhyé asya*).
18. He is known to Heaven and Earth (10, 88, 8: *tám dyaúr veda tám pṛthivī tám āpah*).
19. He sits in the lap of Heaven and Earth (7, 6, 6: *vaiśvānaró váram á ródasyor āgnīḥ sasāda pitrór upásthām*).
20. He is the ruler of Heaven and Earth (7, 6, 2; *hinvánti sám rājyám ródasyoh*).
21. He shines upon or illumines Heaven and Earth (3, 15, 3: *agnír dyāvāpṛthivī viśvajanyé á bhāti devī amṛte amūrah*; see also 1, 143, 2; 3, 2, 2; 1, 96, 5; 2, 2, 5; 10, 45, 4; 7, 12, 1; 6, 3, 7).

The word *aratí*, in all probability, refers to one of these twenty-one kinds of relations, and that being so, it becomes obvious that the first-mentioned twenty cannot be denoted by it (for none of these fits into the context in the other passages where the word *aratí* occurs), and that it can refer to the twenty-first only.

*aratí* thus means 'one who shines or illumines, bright, brilliant, radiant.' It is therefore derived from the same root *ṛ* or *ar* 'to shine' (and not from *ṛ* or *ar* 'to go' as Sāyaṇa has suggested) as the words *aruṇá* and *aruṣá* and is practically synonymous with these two words and also with *pāvaká*, *śukrá*, *śúci*, *vibhāvan*,



*rukṃá*, etc., all which words mean 'bright, resplendent, radiant,' and are, like the word *arati*, used most often as epithets of Agni or Sūrya.

I shall now show that this meaning 'bright, brilliant, radiant' suits the context in all the verses in which *arati* occurs. Of these 2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā náktir uṣáso vavāśiré 'gne vatsám ná svásareṣu dhenávaḥ | divá ivéd aratir mānuṣā yugā kṣápo bhāsi puruṣāra samyátaḥ* has already been explained above (p. 92).

1, 59, 2: *mūrdhā divó nābhir agnīḥ pṛthivyā  
áthābhavad aratī ródasyoḥ |  
tām tvā devāso 'janayanta devām  
vaiśvānara jyótir úd āryāya ||*

"The head of Heaven and the navel of Earth, Agni became the illuminator of (*i.e.*, shone upon) Heaven and Earth. The gods have engendered thee, the god, as light for the Ārya, O Vaiśvānara."

Regarding the expression *arati ródasyoḥ*, compare 1, 143, 2: *prá dyāvā śociḥ pṛthivī arocayat*; 10, 45, 4: *ā ródasī bhānúnā bhāty antáḥ*; 1, 96, 5: *dyāvā kṣāmā rukmó antár ví bhāti* and other similar verses in which Agni is said to have illuminated Heaven and Earth with his light.

2, 2, 3: *tām devā budhné rájasaḥ sudāmsasam  
diváspṛthivyór aratīm ny èvire |  
rátham íva védyam śukrásociṣam  
agnīm mitráṁ ná kṣitīṣu praśāmsyam ||*

"The gods set up at the bottom of space (*i.e.*, on the earth) him, Agni, with bright light, who illuminates (*i.e.*, shines upon) Heaven and Earth, who wins (the prize) like a chariot, who is, like a friend, worthy of being praised."

6, 7, 1: *mūrdhānam divó aratīm pṛthivyā  
vaiśvānarām ṛtā ā jātām agnīm |  
kavīm samrájam átithim jánānām  
āsānn ā pātram janayanta devāḥ ||*

“The gods have engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, born in ṛta, the head of Heaven, the illuminator of Earth, wise, sovereign, the guest of men, the drinking-vessel (of the gods).”

Regarding the expression *āsān pāttram* in d, compare the nivid (T.B. 3, 5, 3, 1) *āspāttram juhūr devānām | camasó devapānaḥ* addressed to Agni.

6, 49, 2 : *viśó-viśa idyam adhvaréṣu*  
*ádṛptakratum aratīm yuvatyóḥ |*  
*divāḥ śíśum sáhasaḥ sūnūm agnīm*  
*yajñásya ketúm aruśám yájadhyai ||*

“Offer worship to Agni, who is worthy of adoration by all peoples in sacrifices, who is not proud of his insight, who is the illuminator of the two youthful women (i.e., of Heaven and Earth), the child of Heaven, the son of strength, the beacon of the sacrifice, bright.”

7, 5, 1 : *prāgnáye taváse bharadhvaṁ*  
*gíraṁ divó aratáye pṛthivyāḥ |*  
*yó víśveṣām amṛtānām upásthe*  
*vaiśvānaró vāvṛdhé jāgrvadbhiḥ ||*

“Proffer the hymn to the strong Agni, illuminator of Heaven and Earth, who, (as) Vaiśvānara, was magnified in the lap of all the immortals by the watchful (priests).”

10, 3, 7 : *sá ā vakṣi máhi na ā ca satsi*  
*diváspṛthivyór aratír yuvatyóḥ |*  
*agníḥ sutúkaḥ sutúkebhir áśvai*  
*rábhasvadbhī rábhasvāñ éhá gamyāḥ ||*

“The illuminator of the two youthful women, (namely) Heaven and Earth, thou carriest much to us and sittest (on our barhis). May the swift impetuous Agni come here with swift impetuous horses.”

1, 58, 7 : *hótāraṁ sapṭá juhvò yájiṣṭhaṁ*  
*yám vāgháto vṛṇáte adhvaréṣu |*  
*agnīm víśveṣām aratīm vásūnām*  
*saparyāmi práyasā yāmi rátnam ||*

“ I worship with good cheer, and pray for wealth (to), Agni brilliant amongst the Vasus, the hotṛ who sacrifices best with seven ladles (or, tongues), whom the priests choose in the rites (as hotṛ).”

The construction of *juhvò* in pāda a is not clear. Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, p. 46) regards *saptá juhvāḥ* as nominative plural and as the subject of *vṛṇāte* in pāda b, and translates ‘whom the seven ladles (of the priests), the worshippers choose as the hotṛ’; see also his *RV. Noten* (I, p. 58). So does Geldner also in his *RV. Ueber.* On the other hand, Pischel, in *Ved. Stud.* 2, 113, has compared with pādas ab here 10, 6, 4 : *mandró hótā sá juhvā yájiṣṭhaḥ* and says, ‘Der Accusativ *saptá juhvāḥ* hängt ab von *yájiṣṭham* (Gaedicke, Accusativ im Veda p. 185)’, with which opinion I am inclined to agree. Compare also in this connection 4, 7, 5 : *tám im hótāram ānuṣák cikivāmsam ní ṣedire | raṇvām pāvakásociṣam yájiṣṭham saptá dhāmabhiḥ* whose pādas cd convey the same meaning as the expressions *aratīm vāsūnām* and *juhvò yájiṣṭham* in pādas ac above.

10, 3, 2 : *kṛṣṇām yád énīm abhí vārpaṣā bhūj  
janāyan yóṣām bṛhatáḥ pitúr jām |  
ūrdhvām bhāmúm sūryasya stabhāyān  
divó vásubhir aratír ví bhāti ||*

“ When he surpassed with his splendour the Dark and the White, bringing forth the woman born of the great father and holding firm the ray, raised high, of the sun, the brilliant one (sc. Agni) shines with the bright ones of Heaven.” The import of this verse is obscure. According to Sāyaṇa, the Dark one is the Night, the great father, the sun, and the woman born of him, Uṣas.

7, 10, 3 : *ácchā giro matáyo devayántir  
agním yanti dráviṇam bhíkṣamāṇāḥ |  
susamdíṣam suprátīkam svāñcam  
havyavāham aratīm mānuṣāṇām ||*

“The hymns and thoughts, pious, go begging for wealth to Agni, handsome, of beautiful countenance, swift carrier of offerings, who shines on men.”

1, 128, 8 : *agnīm hótāram iḷate vāsudhitīm*  
*priyām cētiṣṭham aratīm ny èvire* |  
*havyavāham ny èvire* |  
*viśvāyūm viśvāvedasam*  
*hótāram yajatām kavīm* |  
*devāso raṇvām āvase vasūyāvo*  
*gīrbhī raṇvām vasūyāvah* ||

“Agni, the hotṛ, the storehouse of wealth, do they magnify; him who is dear, preeminent and brilliant, did they set up; the carrier of offerings, the hotṛ, worshipful, wise, vivifier of all and possessor of all wealth, joy-bringing, did the gods wishing for wealth, set up, for protection; wishing for wealth, with hymns, (did they set up) the joy-bringing (Agni).”

7, 16, 1 : *enā vo agnīm nāma-*  
*sorjō nāpātam ā huve* |  
*priyām cētiṣṭham aratīm svadhvarām*  
*viśvasya dūtām amṛtam* ||

“With this adoration (i.e., hymn) do I invoke Agni the son of strength, dear, pre-eminent, immortal, the messenger of all, the accomplisher of sacrifices.”

1, 128, 6 : *viśvo viśhāyā aratīr vāsuv dadhe*  
*hāste dākṣiṇe tarāṇīr nā śiśrathac*  
*chravasyāyā nā śiśrathat* |  
*viśvasmā id iṣudhyatē*  
*devatrā havyām ōhiṣe* |  
*viśvasmā it sukṛte vāram ṛṇvati*  
*agnīr dvārā vy ṛṇvati* ||

“All grown out, the brilliant swift-moving one held wealth in his right hand, not letting it loose; desirous of glory, he has not let loose. For every one who desires it, thou carriest the offerings to the gods. For every righteous one, he procures his wish, (for him) Agni opens wide both folds of the door.”

The meaning of *vihāyāḥ* in pāda a is not certain; Geldner, whom I have followed, translates it (*RV. Ueber.* p. 162) as 'ausgewachsen,' Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, p. 138) as 'far-reaching,' while Sāyaṇa, following the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* (3. 3) has explained it as *mahān*.

In pāda a, *vásur* in *vásur dadhe* seems clearly to be in the nominative case and in coordination with *aratīḥ*; and Geldner has accordingly translated (l.c.) pādas ab as 'Ganz ausgewachsen (wird er) der Wagenlenker, hält der Gott (die Güter) in seiner rechten Hand,' observing that, before *dadhe* the word *vásu* is to be supplied as shown by 9, 18, 4 and that this is an instance of haplology. On the other hand, Oldenberg (op. cit. p. 140), referring to the same 9, 18, 4 (*ā yó víśvāni vāryā vāsūni hástayor dadhē*) proposes to read pāda a as *víśvā víhāyā aratīr vāsū dadhe*. Now I agree with Oldenberg that the word *vásur* should not be looked upon as a nominative and as an epithet of Agni, but that it denotes 'wealth'; but I am opposed to any emendation of the text. Compare in this connection 1, 110, 7: *ṛbhūr ná indrah śávasā náviyān ṛbhūr vājebhir vāsubhir vásur dadīḥ*; 8, 24, 3: *sá na stávāna ā bhara rayīm citráśra-vastamam | nireké cid yó harivo vásur dadīḥ*; 8, 46, 15: *dadī rékṣas tancē dadīr vāsu dadīr vājeṣu puruhūta vājinam*; 8, 21, 17: *índro vā ghéd iyan maghām sárasvatī vā subbhágā dadīr vāsu*; and 4, 24, 1: *kā suṣṭulīḥ śávasaḥ sūnūm índram arvācīnām rādhasa ā vavartat | dadīr hí vīró grṇatē vāsūni* where the expression *vásur dadīḥ* in the first two verses seems plainly to be equivalent to the expression *dadīr vāsu* in the third and fourth and to *dadīr vāsūni* in the fifth.

I conceive that *vásur* is similarly equivalent to *vāsu* (*vāsūni*) in pāda a also above <sup>2</sup> and that *vásur dadhe* = *dadhe*

<sup>2</sup> I am likewise inclined to think that in 10, 53, 3: *sā áyur ágāt surabhīr vāsānaḥ*, the word *surabhir* is equivalent to *surabhīm*; compare 6, 29, 3: *vāsāno átkam surabhīm dṛśé kām*.

*vāsūni*. Regarding *viśvaḥ*, compare 4, 1, 1: *viśvam ādevam janata prācetasam* where too *viśva* is used as an epithet of Agni.

2, 4, 2: *imām vidhānto apām sadhāsthe  
dvitā dadhur bhṛḡavo vikṣv āyóh |  
eṣá viśvāny abhy āstu bhūmā  
devānām agnir aratir jirāśvaḥ ||*

“Worshipping him in the abode of the waters, the Bhṛḡus have again established him among the clans of Āyu. May he surpass all worlds, Agni, who shines on the gods, who has swift horses.” With regard to *devānām aratīḥ* in pāda d, compare 8, 60, 15: *ād id devēṣu rājasi* addressed to Agni.

3, 17, 4: *agnīm sudītīm sudṛśam grṇānto  
namasyāmas tvēḍyam jātavedaḥ |  
tvām dūtām aratīm havyavāham  
devā akrṇvann amṛtasya nābhim ||*

“Praising Agni, handsome, of fine splendour, we adore, O Jātavedas, thee that deservest to be magnified. Thee that art brilliant, the gods have made the messenger, the carrier of offerings, the navel of immortality.”

4, 1, 1: *tvām hy āgne sādām it samanyāvo  
devāso devām aratīm ny èrirá  
iti krátvā nyeriré |  
āmartyam yajata mārtyeṣv ā  
devām ādevam janata prācetasam  
viśvam ādevam janata prācetasam ||*

“O Agni, thee indeed, the brilliant God, have the gods with one mind set up; they have set (thee) up with this aim: ‘adore the immortal among the mortals; engender the wise god who is godly, engender the wholly wise one who is godly.’ ”

4, 2, 1: *yó mārtyeṣv amṛta ṛtāvā  
devó devēṣv aratir nidhāyi |  
hótā yájiṣṭho mahná śucādhyai  
havyaír agnir mānuṣa īrayādhyai ||*

“The brilliant god, pious, immortal, who was established as the best-sacrificing hotṛ among gods and mortals, may he shine greatly; may (he) Agni go (unto the gods) with the offerings of men.” I construe *mártyeṣu, devēṣu* and *hótā yájiṣṭhaḥ* together in the relative clause; compare 6, 1, 13: *agnír hótā gṛhápatisḥ sá rájā víśvā veda jánimā jātávedāḥ | devānām ulá yó mártiyanām yájiṣṭhaḥ* where Agni is said to be the best-sacrificing (priest) among gods and mortals, and 4, 7, 1: *ayám ihá prathamó dhāyī dhātṛbhir hótā yájiṣṭhaḥ* and other similar verses in which it is said that Agni was established as the ‘best-sacrificing hotṛ.’ It is my belief that these two ideas have been combined together by the poet in the relative clause of the above verse.

4, 38, 4: *yáḥ smārundhānó gádhyā samātsu  
sánutaraś cāraṭi gōṣu gácchan |  
āvīryjiko vidáthā nicíkyat  
tiró aratīm páry āpa āyóḥ ||*

The words *gádhyā, sánutaraḥ,* and *ryjika* and the expression *vidáthā nicíkyat* are obscure, and it is hence difficult to make out the import of this verse which describes the running of the horse Dadhikrā. I translate mechanically: “Who, seizing great (booty) in battles, moves as the better winner (of the prize) when he goes towards the cows, with his good points apparent, understanding assemblies, surpassing the brilliant one (Agni?), more than Āyu was able to obtain”.

5, 2, 1: *kumārām mātā yuvatīḥ sámubdham  
gúhā bibharti ná dadāti pitré |  
ánīkam asya ná mináj jánāsaḥ  
purāḥ paśyanti níhitam arataú ||*

The import of this verse, as also of several other verses of this hymn, is obscure; see SBE. 46, p. 368 and *RV. Noten* I, 312. I translate tentatively:

“The young mother carries hidden the bound son; she does not give him to the father. The people see his

not changing countenance (?) before them, placed in the radiant (fire) ”.

6, 3, 5 : *sá id ásteva práti dhād asiṣyāñ*  
*chīṣita téjō 'yaso ná dhārām |*  
*citrādhrajaṭir aratīr yō aktōr*  
*vēr ná druśādvā raghupātmajamhāḥ ||*

“ He [Agni] has made himself ready like a shooter going to shoot and sharpened his flames like the edge of iron, (he) of marvellous speed, who shines at night and who speeds swiftly like a bird going to sit on a tree (i.e., going to its nest).”

6, 12, 3 : *téjiṣṭhā yasyāratīr vanerāt*  
*toḍo ádhvan ná vṛdhasāro adyaut |*  
*adroghó ná dravitā cetati tmānn*  
*āmartyo 'vartrā ōśadhiṣu ||*

“The bright one, ruling over the forest, whose (splendour) is most brilliant, shone with increasing brightness like the sun in his path ; beneficent, immortal, unchecked by plants he shows himself preeminent like a swift horse ”.

The construction of the words *téjiṣṭhā yasyāratīr vanerāt* in pāda a is difficult. Ludwig has suggested that the proper reading here is *amatir*, not *aratir*, and Grassmann, that one should read *tejiṣṭhayā yaḥ* instead of *tejiṣṭhā yasya*, a suggestion that Oldenberg thinks (*RV. Noten*) is perhaps correct. Oldenberg has besides observed (l. c.) that 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 point to the reading *araṇi* instead of *arati*, and also that it is possible to construe the passage without emendation as ‘dessen (Glut) die schärfste ist, der *arati*,’ though such interpretation is very artificial. He therefore proposes to interpret the passage as ‘he whose *arati* is most sharp’ without however saying what the meaning of *arati* is.

Now the verses 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 referred to in this connection by Oldenberg are obscure and it is difficult to find out what these verses themselves mean.



And, moreover, in the verse 10, 61, 20: *ádhasu mandró aratír vibhāvāva syati divartanír vaneṣāt*, the word *vaneṣāt* 'victorious in the forest,' which is almost synonymous with the word *vanerāt* ('ruling over the forest') here, is clearly coordinate with *aratiḥ* and *vibhāvā* which makes it probable that the word *vancerāt* too here is coordinate with *aratiḥ* and refers to Agni. I therefore supply here the word *ruc*<sup>3</sup> (fem.;=*bhānu*, splendour) after *tejiṣṭhā* on the analogy of 10, 3, 5: *téjiṣṭhaiḥ krīḷumádbhir várṣiṣṭhebbhir bhānúbhiḥ* and translate, 'whose (splendour) is most brilliant, the bright one, ruling over the forest, . . .'

In pāda c, I regard *ná dravitā* only as forming the upamāna and look upon *adrogha* (=not injuring; i.e., favourable, beneficent) as an epithet of Agni who is the deity of this verse. Compare the epithet *adrúh* that is applied to Agni in 6, 15, 7: *vípraṁ hótāraṁ puruvāram adrúhaṁ kavīm sumnaír imāhe jātávedasam*; 6, 5, 1: *huvé vah sūnúm sáhaso yúvānam ádroghavācam matibhir yáviṣṭham | yá invati dráviṇāni prácetā viśvāvārāni puruvāro adhrúk* and other verses.

*dravitā*, runner, seems to denote race-horse; compare the word *atya*. Regarding the expression *ná dravitā* . . . *avartrá ṣadhiṣu*, compare 6, 3, 4: *dravír ná drāvayasi*<sup>4</sup> *dāru dhákṣat* 'Consuming the wood, thou runnest like a courser' addressed to Agni. Regarding also the sentence *ná dravitā cetati tmán*, compare 10, 176, 3: *ráttho ná yór abhivṛto ghññivān cetati tmánā* that is likewise addressed to Agni.

6, 15, 4: *dyutānám vo átithim svārṇaram  
agnīm hótāraṁ mānuṣaḥ svadhvarám |*

<sup>3</sup> Or, if the suggestion of Oldenberg (l. c. footnote) about reading *tejiṣṭhāḥ* be correct, one can supply the word *bhānavah*. Sāyaṇa, it may be noted, interprets *aratiḥ* here as *jvālā* and construes it with *tejiṣṭhā*.

<sup>4</sup> *drāvayasi*=*dravasi* here, in the same way as *drāvayitnávaḥ* (in 9, 69, 6: *sūryasyeva raśmāyo drāvayitnávaḥ*)=*dravitnavah*.

*vípram ná dyukṣávacasam suvṛktíbhīr  
havyavāham aratīm devām ṛñjase ||*

“I adorn with well-cut (i.e., well-fashioned) hymns your shining guest, the heaven-man, Agni, hotṛ of men, accomplisher of sacrifices, whose speech like that of an inspired seer is bright, the carrier of offerings, the brilliant god”. Regarding the expression *suvṛktíbhīr ṛñjase*, compare Geldner in *Ved. St.* 3, p. 32f.

6, 67, 8: *tā jihvāyā súdam édám sumedhā  
ā yád vām satyó aratīr ṛtē bhūt |  
tád vām mahitvám ghṛtānnāv astu  
yuvám dāśúṣe ví cayiṣṭam ámhah ||*

The import of pādas ab is obscure. I translate, following Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* I, 413); “The wise one [sc. Agni] (brings) here the two (sc. Mitra and Varuṇa) at all times (and offers food) with his tongue, when (he), the powerful brilliant one, is present at the sacrifice offered to you two. May that be your greatness, O ye two whose food is ghee; you remove distress from the offerer (of sacrifices)”. Compare with this stanza 3, 57, 5: *yā te jihvā mādhumatī sumedhā ágne devéśūcyāta urūcī |  
táyehá víśvāñ ávase yájatrān ā sādaya pāyáyā cā  
mádhūni ||*.

8, 19, 1: *tām gūrdhayā svāṇaram  
devāso devām aratīm dadhanvire |  
devatrā havyám óhire ||*

“Praise him, the heaven-man. The gods have run to the brilliant god and made him carry offerings to the gods.” I regard *óhire* in pāda c as being used with the causative sense with the signification ‘made him carry’.

8, 19, 21: *īle girā mánurhitam  
yám devā dūtām aratīm nyeriré |  
yájiṣṭham havyavāhanam ||*

“I magnify with hymn (Agni) the benefactor of men, whom, brilliant, best officiating in sacrifices, the gods set up as messenger and carrier of offerings”.

10, 3, 1 : *inó rājann aratīḥ sāmiddho*  
*raūdro dākṣāya suṣumāñi adarśi |*  
*cikīd ví bhāti bhāsā bṛhatā*  
*'siknīm cti rúsatīm apājan ||*

“O king, the chief, radiant, Rudra-like, . . . for skill, being kindled, has been seen. The wise one shines with great splendour, going to the dark one and driving away the bright one”. The word *suṣumāñ* in pāda b which I have left untranslated, is obscure; see Oldenberg's *RV. Noten* II, 200 where several conjectural explanations are given of it. We do not know to whom the vocative *rājan* in pāda a and the words *ásiknī* and *rúsatī* in pāda d refer; but it is possible that the latter two words refer to Night and Dawn.

10, 3, 6 : *asyá śúsmāso dadṛśānápaver*  
*jéhamānasya svanayan niyúdbhiḥ |*  
*pratnébhir yó rúśadbhir devátamo*  
*ví rébhadbhir aratír bhāti víbhvā ||*

“Who, bright, brilliant, most godlike, shines with (his) old gleaming, singing (flames),—the powers of him whose felly is visible, who presses swiftly forwards, rushed onward with teams”.

10, 45, 7 : *uśík pāvako aratīḥ sumedhā*  
*márteṣv agnir amṛto ní dhāyi |*  
*iyarti dhūmām aruśām bháribhṛad*  
*úc chukréṇa śociṣā dyāṁ inakṣan ||*

“The immortal Agni, loving, bright, brilliant, wise, has been established among men. Reaching the sky with bright flame he raises up, carrying, the bright smoke”.

10, 46, 4 : *mandrām hótāram uśijo námobhiḥ*  
*prāñcam yajñām uctāram adhvarāṇām |*  
*viśām akṛṇvann aratīm pāvakām*  
*havyavāham dádhatō mānuṣeṣu ||*

“Him, bright and radiant, who leads sacrifices rightly, the ruler of sacrifices, the Uśijs, with obeisances, made the dear hotṛ of the clans, establishing him as the carrier of sacrificial offerings among men”.

Āśv. ŚS. 4, 7, 4 : *samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇā 'ratir divas*  
*tapto gharma duhyate vām iṣe madhu |*  
*vayaṁ hi vām puruṣamāso aśvinā*  
*havāmahe sadhamādeṣu kāravaḥ ||*

“ Kindled, O ye two bulls, is Agni the illuminator of Heaven ; the gharma is heated ; honey is milked for your food. O ye Aśvins, we singers, most busy, invoke you in these occasions of rejoicing together ”.

This verse occurs in AV (7, 73, 1), with the readings *rathī divāḥ* and *puruṣamāso* in a and c, and in Śāṅkh. ŚS. (5, 10, 8) with the reading *rayir divaḥ* in a. It is the opinion of Whitney (*AV. Trans.* p. 437) that the reading of Āśv. ŚS. is *ratir divaḥ* and that this, as also the reading of Śāṅkh. ŚS., are corruptions of the AV reading which is correct.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable. The reading *vṛṣaṇāratir divaḥ* is found in AB. 1, 22, 2 also ; and the occurrence of the expressions *divó aratīḥ*, *ródasyor aratīḥ* and *diváspṛthivyór aratīḥ* in RV. 7, 5, 1 and other verses explained above shows that one should read *aratir divaḥ* in this AB passage also, and that this is the original reading. *rathī divāḥ* and *rayir divaḥ* in AV and Śāṅkh. ŚS. are therefore without doubt corruptions of the reading *aratir divāḥ*.

The word *aratīḥ* occurs, further, in RV. 10, 61, 20 which will be explained in the next article.

## § 7

### *dán*

This word *dán*, about whose interpretation there has been much dispute, occurs in but seven verses of the RV. In six of them it is found at the end of the pāda, preceded by the word *pátīḥ* in four (1, 149, 1 ; 153, 4 ; 10, 99, 6 ; 105, 2), and by *patī* and *śísuḥ* in one each (1, 120, 6 ; 10, 61, 20) ; in the remaining verse (10, 115, 2), it occurs within the pāda.

Sāyaṇa explains the word as *śatrūn damayati* in one verse, *damayan* in another and as *ādadānaḥ*, *dadaḥ abhimataṁ prayacchan*, *dātā*, *dhanāni prayacchan* and *yaṣṭṛṇām dhanadātā* in the others. According to him, therefore, there are two words having the form *dán*, one derived from the root *dam* and the other from the root *dā*.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Roth too (in the PW) believes that there are three words of that form: *dán* in 10, 61, 20 is, according to him, a verbal form of the root *dan*, in 10, 115, 2, a shortened form of *danta*, tooth, and in the other five verses, the genitive of *dám*, house. In the latter opinion, he is followed by Bartholomae (Ar. For. 1. 70 ff.), Grassmann, and Brugmann (Grundriss 1 § 108, 204, 672).<sup>2</sup>

Pischel criticised this opinion in *Ved. St.* 2, 93 ff., pointing out that in 1, 120, 6 and 10, 105, 2 addressed respectively to the Aśvins and Indra, the interpretation of *dán* as 'of the house' hardly fits, since these deities are nowhere in the RV described as 'masters of the house (*gr̥hapati*)'. He therefore opined that *dán* denotes 'richtend, bemeisternd' in 10, 105, 2; 99, 6; and 'Ausrichter (des Opfers)' in 10, 115, 2; 1, 153, 4; 149, 1. In 1, 120, 6, *dán* is, according to him, a verbal form meaning 'herrichtet,' and in 10, 61, 2, too, a verbal form meaning 'ausgerichtet' and having as its subject *śísuḥ* which is slang for 'penis.'

This opinion of Pischel was, in its turn, criticised by Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* II, 267) who has observed (1) that the expression *śísuḥ dán*, in 10, 61, 20 is so similar to *pátir dán* that it is very questionable if it is to be construed in a different manner, and (2) that since

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<sup>1</sup> Ludwig interprets the word mostly as 'zu geben, 'zu spenden', etc. (see Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 93) and thus seems to follow Sāyaṇa in deriving the word from the root *dā* 'to give'; *dán* is an infinitive in his opinion. In 1, 120, 6 however he explains the word as 'dass ihr richtet.'

<sup>2</sup> See Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 93.

*śīśu* is a common epithet of Agni and this verse is referring to Agni, it is not proper to give it an unusual signification. He has therefore interpreted *pátir dán* as 'Herr des Hauses' in *op. cit.* II, 315, 336 and thus preferred to follow the lead of Roth and Grassmann. So also do Wackernagel who explains *dán* as 'des Hauses' (*Ai. Gr.* I, pp. 196, 258) and Macdonell who explains *dán* as the genitive of *dám-* (*Ved. Gr.* pp. 37, 60; see also p. 218 and n. 5 there). Similarly, Geldner too translates *pátir dán* and *patī dán* in 1, 140, 1; 153, 1; 120, 6 as 'Hausgebieter', 'Herr dieses Hauses' and 'Hausmeister' in his *RV. Ueber.*

Now, the criticisms urged by Pischel against the interpretation proposed by Roth, and by Oldenberg<sup>3</sup> against that proposed by Pischel, are, it seems to me, quite valid. At the same time, it also seems to be beyond dispute that *dán* in the combination *pátir dán* and *śīśur dán*, is the genitive form of a word like *dans* or *dams*, as observed by Wackernagel (*l. c.*). This *dans* or *dams* cannot, for the reasons mentioned above, signify 'house'; and I therefore believe that it is identical with the word of that form which is cognate with the words *dāmsas* *dāmsanā*, etc., and is derived from the root *dams* 'to be strong'. This is the opinion of Pischel also, except that he thinks that the root *dams* signifies 'zu richten'. Compare his observations in *l. c.*, p. 103: "Es ergibt sich also, dass *dán* zu *dams* gehört, dessen Grund-

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<sup>3</sup> There are other objections, too, that can be urged against Pischel's interpretation. His separation of *pátir* and *dán* (in his opinion, both are nominatives) in the combination *pátir dán* cannot be correct. For, except in the cases pointed out by Grassmann (*s. v. pati* 8, 9), the word *pati* by itself (i.e., when not used in association with genitives like *vājasya*, *vasunah*, *śubhah*, *śavasah* etc.) is never used in the RV as an epithet of gods. Again, Pischel's interpretations of 10, 99, 6 and 10, 115, 2 seem to be forced and indicate that his explanation of the word *dán* is not correct.

bedeutung 'richten' ist. . . Zur gleichen Wurzel gehören *daṁsána*, *daṁsánā*, *dáṁsas* 'Meisterschaft', 'Macht', *daṁsánāvant* 'mächtig', *purudáṁsa*, *purudáṁsas*, *sudáṁsas* 'sehr mächtig', *dáṁsiṣṭha* 'sehr mächtig', *dáṁsu* 'mächtig' im Sinne von 'gewaltig', 'weit', 'hoch' u. dgl., *dáṁsujūta* 'in gewaltiger Eile' (so auch Ved. Stud. 1, 220 zu lesen; sonst weiss ich auch heut keine bessere Erklärung von 1, 122, 10), *dasmá* und *dasrá* 'mächtig', 'Meister'."

Compare also his observations on pp. 104-5 in continuation of the above.

In other words, *dán* in the combination *śísur dán* and *pátir dán*, is the genitive form of *daṁs* which, like *taṁs* and *sáhas*, signifies 'strong, powerful, great' and also 'strength, power, greatness.' The epithet *śísur dán*, in 10, 61, 20 addressed to Agni, thus means 'child of strength' and is synonymous with the epithets *sahasāḥ sūnu* and *sahasas putra* that are applied to him in many verses, (see Grassmann, s. v. *sahas*); and the epithet *pátir dán* used in 10, 99, 6 and 10, 105, 2 that are both addressed to Indra is similarly synonymous with the epithet *śavasaḥ pati* that is applied to him in many verses (see Grassmann, s. v. *śavas*).

I shall now show that this meaning suits the context in all the verses in which the word *dán* occurs.

1, 120, 6 : *śrutám gāyatrám tákavānasyā-*  
*hám cid dhī rirébhāśvinā vām |*  
*ākṣī śubhas pati dán ||*

"Hear the hymn of Takavāna; I have indeed, O Áśvins, sung your praise. O ye lords of splendour, that are great, turn your eyes."

In pāda c, I supply the word *adhattam* after *ā* on the analogy of 1, 116, 16: *tásmā* (sc. *ṛjraśvāya*) *akṣī nāsatyā vicákṣa ā dhattam dasrā bhiṣajāv anarván* and 1, 117, 17: *ākṣī ṛjraśve áśvināv adhattam*. Sāyaṇa explains *tákavānasya* in a as *skhalad-gater andhasya Ṛjraśvasya*,

an explanation which is perhaps correct; <sup>4</sup> compare 1, 116, 16 cited above. *dán*=great, *dasrā*; compare the many passages in which this epithet or its equivalents *dāmsiṣṭhā*, *purudāmsasā*, *śacīpatī*, *śakrā*, *tuviṣṭamā*, etc., are applied to the Aśvins. *ākṣī adhattam* in c means 'cast your eyes on the *dakṣiṇā* that is now offered to me'; see Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, p. 148.

10, 99, 6 : *sá id dāsam tuvirāvam pátir dán*  
*ṣaḷakṣám trisīrṣāṇam damanyat |*  
*asyá tritó nv ójasā vṛdhānó*  
*vipā varāhām áyo-agrayā han ||*

"He, (Indra) lord of strength, overcame the loudly roaring *dāsa* with three heads and six eyes. Trita, waxing strong with his (*sc.* Indra's) strength, killed the boar with iron-tipped arrow." The fighting of Indra and Trita with the *dāsa* of three heads is referred to in 10, 8, 8-9 also : *sá pítryāṇy āyudhāni vidvān indreṣita*  
*āptyó abhy āyudhyat | trisīrṣāṇam sapṭáraṣmim jaghanvān*  
*tvāṣṭrasya cin nīḥ sasṛje tritó gāḥ || bhūrīd indra udī-*  
*nakṣantam ójó 'vābhinat sátpatir mányamānam | tvāṣṭrasya*  
*cid viśvárūpasya gónām ācakrāṇás triṇi sīrṣā pūrā varḥ.*

10, 105, 2 : *hārī yásya suyújā vívratā vér*  
*ārvantā 'nu sépā |*  
*ubhā rajī ná keśinā pátir dán ||*

The construction of this verse is difficult. Grassmann has translated it as "Du, dessen goldfarbenes Rossepaar schön angeschrirt, auf beiden Seiten vorwärts strebt, laufend längs den beiden Schwänzen des Vogels wie ein Hausherr zwischen den beiden behaarten Linien", Ludwig as "Des falbenpaar leicht angespannt verschiedenen seiten zustrebend anrief der vogel die renner, zwei Raji's gleich die mähnigen, der ist herr zu geben" and Pischel (l. c. p. 95) as "Dessen störrige Falben fromm

<sup>4</sup> In this case, it would be better to interpret *śrutām* as 'you have heard', and pāda c as 'O ye lords of splendour, ye that are great have given two eyes (to Rjṛāśva)'.



sind, wenn er, der Herr, die beiden mähnigen Rosse, die wie zwei Ruten steigen, gezügelt hat, sie bemeisternd". I translate as follows: "Whose two bay horses are self-yoking, difficult of control, (these) two swift runners, having like two rajis (long) hair in the tails, the lord of strength drives."

*vēh*=drives, sets in motion; compare 1, 63, 2: *ā yād dhārī indra vivratā vēr ā te vājraṁ jaritā bāhwōr dhāt*; 1, 177, 2: *yé te vṛṣaṇo vṛṣabhāsa indra brahmayújo vṛṣarathāso átyāh | tāñ ā tiṣṭha*; and 10, 105, 5: *ādhi yās tasthaú kēsavantā. suyújā*=*svayujā*, self-yoking; see p. 45 above. Compare also the epithets *brahmayújā* and *vacoyújā*<sup>5</sup> applied to Indra's horses in the following verses, 8, 1, 24: *ā tvā sahásram ā śatām yuktā ráthe hiranyáye | brahmayújo hārāya indra keśīno váhantu sómāpitāye*; 8, 17, 2: *ā tvā brahmayújā hārī váhatām indra keśīnā*; 8, 45, 39: *ā ta etā vacoyújā hārī gr̥bhñe sumádrathā*; 8, 98, 9: *yuñjānti hārī iṣirásya gātháyorau rátha urúyuge | indravāhā vacoyújā. vivratā*=difficult to control, unruly, refractory, 'widerspenstig' (Roth in PW; Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, 1, 63, 2), and not 'nach verschiedenen Seiten strebend' (Grassmann). *ánu sépā*=in the two tails; compare 10, 97, 19: *yā óṣadhiḥ sómārājñīr viṣṭhitāḥ pṛthivīm ánu* 'the plants, whose king is Soma, that are spread in the earth'; 8, 10, 6: *yād antárikṣe pátathaḥ purubhujā yād vemé ródasī ánu* 'whether ye fly in the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), O ye two that possess

<sup>5</sup> It seems to me now that it is preferable to interpret *vacoyújā* and *manoyújā ásvā* as 'the two horses that are yoked by the hymn or praise recited by the priest'; that is, 'the two horses that yoke themselves to the chariot as soon as the priest recites hymns invoking and praising the deities that are their masters' instead of as 'the two horses that yoke themselves to the chariot as soon as their master thinks of setting forth or expresses in words his intention to set forth' (see p. 46 above and n. 7 there). Compare in this connection 3, 35, 4: *bráhmanā te brahmayújā yunaḥmi hārī sákhāyā sadhamāda āsú* and 7, 36, 4: *girā yā etā yunájad dhārī ta indra priyā suráthā śura dhāyú.*

much, or in these two worlds, namely, Heaven and Earth"; 1, 80, 1: *árcannu ánu svarājyam* 'may they sing in thy own sovereignty'.

The meaning of *raji* is unknown. Grassmann suggests<sup>6</sup> that it denotes an animal like an antelope or buffalo; and it is clear from the above comparison that it has very long hair. Perhaps, it denotes the *camara-mṛga* or Tibetan yak which has long silken hair all over the body. With regard to pāda c, compare 8, 1, 25: *ā tvā rāthe hiraṇyāye hārī mayūraśeṣyā | śitiprṣṭhā vahatām* "O Indra, may the two steeds with white backs and tails as long as those of the peacock carry thee in the golden chariot."

Or, should one interpret *ánu śépā* as 'proceeding from, i.e., beginning with, the two tails'? In this case, the two steeds of Indra would have long hair all over the body like the above-mentioned yak. Compare 3, 45, 1: *ā mandraír indra hāribhir yāhī mayūraromabhiḥ* 'come, O Indra, with beautiful steeds that have on their bodies hair (long) like the peacock ('s tail).' The *sāmānyadharma* in the comparison contained in the epithets *mayūraśeṣyā* and *mayūraromabhiḥ*, as in the comparisons contained in many passages of later classical writers, is length. Compare, for instance, Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra, pp 269 f.: *asyā manoharākāra-kabarī-bhāra-nirjitāḥ | lajjayeva vane vāsam cakruś camara-barhiṇaḥ*; <sup>7</sup> *asyāḥ sapakṣaika-vidhoḥ kacaughāḥ sthāne mukhasyopari vāsam āpa | pakṣastha-tāvad-bahu-candrako 'pi kalāpinām yena jitaḥ*

<sup>6</sup> Pischel interprets *raji* as 'sich aufrichtend,' 'gerade' (l.c., p. 95), while Sāyaṇa explains it as *dyāvāprthivyau | yad vā mahāntau rañjakau sūryācandramasan.*

<sup>7</sup> It will be seen that this stanza mentions, besides the peacock, the *camara* or yak also. Its hair or *cāmara* is likewise mentioned in a similar connection on p. 270 op. cit. in the following verse: *cikura-prakarā jayanti te viduṣī mūrdhani yān bibharti sā | paśunā 'py apuraskṛtena tattulanām icchati cāmarenḥ kaḥ*. These verses thus lend support to the view expressed above that *raji* = *camara* or yak.

*kalāpah; asyāḥ kacānām śikhinaś ca kim nu vidhiṃ kalāpau vimater agātām | tenāyam ebhiḥ kim apūji puṣpair abhartsī datvā sa kim ardha-candram; na jīmūta-cchedaḥ sa hi gagana-cārī na ca tamo na tasyendora maitrī na ca madhukarās te hi mukharāḥ | na piccham tat kekiny ucitam asito 'yam na ca maṇir mṛduttvād ā jñātam ghana-cikura-pāśo mṛgadṛśaḥ; and Raghuvamśa 9, 67: api turaga-samīpād utpatantam mayūram na sa rucira-kalāpam bāṇa-lakṣī-cakāra | sapadi gata-manaskaś citra-mālyānukīrṇe rati-vigalita-bandhe keśa-pāśe priyāyāḥ.*

Oldenberg (op. cit. II, 325) suggests <sup>a</sup> with hesitation that *ānu śépā* in b should be emended into *tanuśépā* and refers in support thereof to the observation of Gunther (Beurteilungslehre des Pferdes, p. 298) that 'edle Hengste haben dünneren und kürzeren Penis, gemeine haben längeren und dickeren.' This is not very convincing, and, for my part, I do not feel that there is any need for emendation.

1, 149, 1: *mahāḥ sá rāyá śate pátir dānn*  
*inā ināsya vāsunaḥ padā ā |*  
*ūpa dhrājantam ādrayo vidhānn it ||*

"This lord of strength advances to great wealth, the mighty one in the abode of mighty wealth. May the stones honour him as he speeds near."

This verse is, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, addressed to Agni; but, as observed by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*), his name is not mentioned in the hymn, and the word *ādrayaḥ* in v. 1 and *sargaḥ* and *śīsrīta* in v. 2 seem to point to Soma as the deity. In either case, *pátir dān* means 'lord of strength.' Compare 5, 6, 9: *utó na út pupūryā ukthēṣu śavasas pata śsam stotṛbhya ā bhara* and 9, 36, 6: *ā divās pṛsthām aśvayūr gavyayúḥ soma rohasi | vīrayúḥ śavasas pate* in which the epithet *śavasas pati* is applied to Agni and Soma.

<sup>a</sup> He has perhaps allowed himself to be influenced by Sāyana who explains *śépā* here as *śepavantaṃ praśasta-pumstvān ity arthaḥ*.

1, 153, 4: *utá vām vikṣú mádyāsv ándho*  
*gāva āpaś ca pīpayanta devīḥ |*  
*utó no asyá pūrvyāḥ pátir dán*  
*vītām pātām páyasa usriyāyāḥ ||*

“And in clans with plenty of Soma, the cows and divine waters have made the plant to swell. And of this your cow’s milk, drink with relish, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa)—(and) first, the lord of strength (Agni).”

*mádyāsu vikṣú* means ‘in clans having plenty of Soma’ in the same way as *somyāt sádasah* in 1, 182, 8 (*asmād adyá sádasah somyād á*) means ‘from a seat rich in Soma’; see Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, I, pp. 192, 237. According to Geldner (l.c.), the sense of the verse is: “O ye Mitra and Varuṇa, the Soma juice is ready for your drinking in many houses; do ye however rather drink with relish this cow’s milk of ours.” As observed by Sāyaṇa, *pátir dán*, ‘lord of strength’ in pāda c denotes Agni; see also Pischel, l.c., p. 98.

10, 61, 20: *ádhāsu mandró aratír vibhāvā-*  
*va syati dvivartanír vaneṣāt |*  
*ūrdhvā yác chrēṇir ná śísur dán*  
*makṣú sthírām śevṛdhām sūta mātā ||*

Pāda c of this verse is obscure. Roth, in the PW, emends *śísuh* into *śísraḥ*, while Pischel (op. cit., p. 94) believes that *śísuh* itself is, like the German ‘der Kleine,’ slang for *śisna*. According to him, pādas cd are parallel to 5, 7, 8: *suṣūr asūta mātā krāṇā yád ānaśé bhágam* and other similar verses and says that the mother gave birth to Agni immediately after copulation.

This explanation does not seem satisfactory to me (see p. 117 above); and I am inclined to believe that the verse as a whole says that Agni grew up as soon as he was born and consumed the plants, and that it is parallel to 7, 4, 2: *sá gṛtso agnís tárūṇaś cid astu yáto yáviṣṭho*  
*ājaniṣṭa mātúḥ | sám yó vānā yuváte sūcidan bhūri cid*  
*ánā sám íd atti sadyāḥ; 10, 115, 1-2: citrá íc chíṣos*

*tāruṇasya vakṣátho ná yó mātárāv apy éti dhātave |  
anūdhā yádi jījanad ádhā ca nú vavákṣa sadyó máhi  
dūtyām cáran || agnír ha náma dhāyi dānn apástamah  
sám yó vānā yuvátc bhásmanā datā | abhipramúrā juhvā  
svadhvarā inó ná próthamāno yāvase vṛṣā* and other  
similar passages. I therefore translate the verse as  
follows: "Then the dear (Agni), bright, radiant, two-  
wayed, ruling over the forest, lets himself loose in these  
(plants), when (he), the child of strength becomes upright  
like a straight line; the mother soon gave birth to the  
strong one, the enhancer of happiness."

Pādas d and c, in which it is said that the mother  
gave birth to the strong one and that the child of  
strength became upright like a straight line, that is,  
grew up and set himself into activity, should be read  
first; and pādas ab, which describe that Agni let himself  
loose in the plants (and consumed them) should be  
read thereafter.

*āsu* in a refers to *ōṣadhīṣu*; compare 6, 12, 3 (ex-  
plained above on p. 112): *téjīṣṭhā yásyāratír vanerāt  
todó ádhvan ná vṛdhasānó adyaut . . avartrā ōṣadhīṣu*  
which is in many respects parallel to this. *dvivartanīḥ*  
in b refers perhaps to the two paths, upward and  
forwards, which Agni follows in the forest when consum-  
ing plants.

(*ūrdhvó bhavati*) 'becomes upright' in pāda c means  
'stands up (does not sit); sets himself into activity;  
bestirs himself'; compare 4, 4, 5: *ūrdhvó bhava prāti  
vidhyādhy asmát* 'get up (bestir thyself) and shoot them  
away from us' where the expression *ūrdhvó bhava* is used  
of Agni in this sense; 5, 1, 2: *ūrdhvó agnīḥ sumánāḥ  
prātár asthāt* 'Agni, well-disposed, has put himself into  
activity in the morning'; 6, 63, 4: *ūrdhvó vām agnír  
adhvarēṣv asthāt* and other passages where the word  
*ut-tiṣṭha* (= *ūrdhvo bhava*) is used of Agni. Compare  
also the expression *todó ádhvan ná vṛdhasānāḥ* in 6, 12, 3  
cited above which too has the same sense.

As already observed above, *śísur dán* = child of strength.

10, 115, 2: *agnír ha nāma dhāyi dánm apāstamah  
sām yó vānā yuvāte bhāsmanā datā |  
abhipramúrā juhvā svadhvará  
inó ná próthamāno yāvase vṛṣā ||*

“The strong one, most efficient, named Agni, was established, who consumes woods with pulverising (i. e., destroying) tooth, the accomplisher of sacrifices with (his) growing tongue (i. e., flame), snorting like a great bull in a field of grass.”

After *dhāyi* in a, we have to understand *vikṣú*, *márteṣu*, *duroṇé*, *sádane* or other similar word; compare 1, 148, 2-3: *nītye cin nú yām sádane jagṛbhré prásastibhir  
dadhiré yajñīyāsaḥ | prá sú nayanta grbháyanta iṣṭāv  
āsvāso nú ratḥyò rārahāṇāḥ || purūṇi dasmó ní riṇāti  
jāmbhair ād rocate vāna ā vibhāvā | ād asya vāto ānu vāti  
śocīḥ.*

The expression *abhipramúrā juhvā* in c means, according to Pischel (l.c., p. 98), ‘strengthening ladle’ and according to Oldenberg (*op. cit.* II, 336), ‘with destroying tongue.’ Compare however 1, 127, 1: *yá  
ūrdhváyā svadhvaró devó devācyā kṛpā* ‘the god who, with his upright flame turned towards the gods, accomplishes the sacrifice’ addressed to Agni; the expression *ūrdhváyā svadhvarāḥ kṛpā* in this verse is exactly parallel to *abhipramúrā juhvā svadhvarāḥ* in pāda c above. The word *abhipramúrā* is derived from the root *murch* ‘to grow, to increase, to become strong,’ as pointed out by Pischel (l.c., p. 112).

I have interpreted *dán* as ‘strong’ here as I have done in 10, 105, 2 above. Compare the epithet *dasmá* applied to Agni in 1, 148, 3 cited above and in other passages. It is possible to regard *dán* here as equivalent to *dāme* (compare the word *sádane* in 1, 148, 2 cited above) and to interpret it as ‘in the house.’ There is however

no necessity to assume two words of the form *dán*, and it seems to me preferable to look upon it as a derivative of *damś* 'strong,' in this verse also.

In the opinion of Pischel (l.c., p. 100), the word *dán* occurs, further, in the RV in the two following stanzas also :

5, 3, 7 : *divó ná yásya vidható nāvīnod*  
*vṛṣā rukṣá óṣadhīṣu nūnot |*  
*ghṛṇā ná yó dhrájasā pátmanā yánn*  
*ā ródasi vásunā dām supátnī ||*

According to Pischel, the above word *dán* occurs in pāda d as *dām*, and is a verbal form ; *ā dām*=ausrichtete, i.e., ausstattete, and pādas cd mean, 'der wie (der Durstige) in der Hitze im Zug und Flug gehend, Himmel und Erde, die trefflichen Gatten, mit Gut ausstattete.' I do not feel so certain that the word used in this verse is *dán*; but, granting that Pischel's opinion is right, I would translate the verse as 'Whose (flame), when he worships (the gods), roars like (the thunder) of Heaven, he, the strong bright one, has roared in the plants; going with flying speed like one (seeking shelter) from the heat, the strong one has extended with light Heaven and Earth, the excellent husband and wife.'

In pāda b, the word used is, according to Roth (Ueber gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes in Veda, p. 3) and Pischel (l.c.), *rukṣé* which is short for *rukṣéṣu* and means 'in the trees.' According to the Padapāṭha, however, the word used is *rukṣáḥ* which probably means 'bright'; see Grassmann and Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, I, 371.

I have followed Pischel in the interpretation of pāda a; but I do not feel certain that this is what the poet had in his mind. Regarding the simile however, compare 7, 3, 6 : *divó ná te tanyatúr eti śúṣmah* and 4, 10, 4 : *prá te divó ná stanayanti śúṣmāḥ*.

The comparison in c is, according to Pischel, concerned with one who, feeling thirsty in the heat, runs to procure some drink to quench his thirst. I am inclined to believe that it concerns one who flies for shelter from the heat ; compare 6, 16, 38: *úpa chāyām iva ghṛṇer áganma sárma te vayám* and 1, 158, 3: *úpa vām ávaha śaraṇám gameyam śúro nájma patáyadbhir évaiḥ*.

In d, I interpret *vásu* as 'light' and supply after *ā* the word *talāna* on the analogy of 6, 4, 6: *ā sūryo ná bhānumádbhir arkaír ágne tatántha ródasī ví bhāsā | citró nayat pári támāmsy aktáḥ śocíṣā pátmanu auśijó ná dīyan*.

The reading *dám supátñi* is, though not unintelligible, suspicious ; for, as I have already observed above, the word *páti* by itself (i. e., not accompanied by genitives) is not used in the RV as an epithet of any deity ; nor are Heaven and Earth described anywhere in the RV as 'excellent husband and wife (treffliche Gaten).' I would therefore emend *dám supátñi* into *dámsupatñi* (i. e., *dámsu-patñi* ; compare *dámsu-jūtaḥ*, *rámsu-jihvaḥ*) and interpret pāda d as 'he extended Heaven and Earth, lords of greatness, with his light.' *dámsupatñi*=great lords or lords of greatness ; it is the equivalent of the epithet *sudámsasā* that is applied to Heaven and Earth in 6, 70, 7: *úrjam no dyaús ca pṛthivī ca pinvatām pitā mātā viśvavidā sudámsasā* and 1, 159, 1: *devébhir yé deváputre sudámsasā*. Roth, too, in the PW, suggests the emendation *dámsupatñi* ; he would however interpret this word as 'einen wunderkräftigen Herrn habend.' Oldenberg (ZDMG. 55, 290) suggests the emendation *tán supátñi*, *tán* being a verbal form (= *talāna*) of the root *tan*.

4, 19, 7: *prāgrúvo nabhanvò ná vákva  
dhvasrā apinvad yuvatīr ṛtaññāḥ |  
dhānvāny ájrāñi aprnak ṛṣṇāññi  
ádhog índraḥ staryò dámsupatñiḥ ||*



Here Roth would retain the reading *dámsupatnīḥ* and interpret the word as 'whose lord is wonderfully strong'; but against this Pischel (l. c., p. 102) urges that 'sterile women whose lord is wonderfully strong' are, though conceivable, hardly within the realm of probability. He would therefore emend *dámsupatnīḥ* into *dám supátnīḥ* and interpret pāda d as 'es melkte Indra die unfruchtbaren (Kühe), er machte die Frauen, die einen tüchtigen Gatten haben, schwanger' d. h. "Indra bewirkt, dass die unfruchtbaren Kühe Milch geben, also fruchtbar werden, und dass die Frauen Kinder bekommen, ein Hauptwunsch des Inders." Here too *dám* or *dán* is a verbal form of the root *damś* 'richten' and means 'er machte schwanger.' The stanza signifies, according to him, "Er füllte an die seichten Flüsse die (dabei) wie Mädchen (bei der Vergewaltigung) schrieen. Wüsten und Gefilde, die dürsteten, tränkte er; Indra schaffte Milch den unfruchtbaren (Kühen), er machte die Ehefrauen schwanger." Geldner translates pāda d<sup>9</sup> as 'Indra melkte die Geltkühe die einen tüchtigen Hausgemahl (in ihm) haben' in his *RV. Ueber.* and therefore looks upon *dám* as the genitive of *dám* or *dáms* meaning 'house.' Grassmann translates the pāda as 'Indra molk des Dämon's gelbe Kühe' and Ludwig as 'er gewann milch von den [bisz dahin] unfruchtbaren gattinnen des wunder [tieres].'

Hillebrandt (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 46) translates the stanza as: "Er schwängerte die Mädchen, die wie hervorbrechende Quellen tobten, er schwängerte die jungen, rechtschaffenen Frauen, welche verkummerten. Die dürstenden Triften und Felder sättigte er. Er verschaffte Milch den Unfruchtbaren, die einen wunderkräftigen Gatten hatten," and observes: "Die gewaltige,

<sup>9</sup> The other three pādas he has translated as: "Er schwängerte die Unvermählten, die wie die Quellwasser glucksten, er schwängerte die sittsamen jungen Frauen, die schmachtenden. Er tränkte die verdursteten Steppen und Ebenen."

befruchtende Kraft Indra's wird geschildert. Es wird immer übersehen, dass es sich um eine Steigerung handelt. I. schwängert 1. die *agrúvo*, die unvermählten, 2. die jungen Frauen, die aber *dhvasrá* sind, 3. die, die unfruchtbar sind, obwohl sie einen kräftigen Mann haben. Unter *dhvasrá* sind die zu verstehen, die einen unfruchtbaren oder sie vernachlässigenden Mann haben. Die Bedeutung von *dámsu* . . ist in dem Zusammenhang ganz klar: trotzdem die Frauen einen sehr kräftigen Gatten haben, bleiben sie unfruchtbar, und Indra hilft."

Similarly, it is the opinion of Grassmann and Ludwig (and of Geldner) also that the first two pādas too of the stanza are concerned with Indra's impregnation of maidens, and that *nabhanvāḥ* in pāda a is the *upamāna* and not the *upameya*.

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect; and I believe that the stanza as a whole refers to Indra's release of the Waters or Rivers. For, on the one hand, nowhere else in the RV is Indra described as making maidens or married women fruitful. 6, 44, 21: *vṛṣāsi divó vṛṣabhāḥ pṛthivyā vṛṣā śindhūnām vṛṣabhāḥ stīyānām | vṛṣṇe ta indur vṛṣabha pīpāya* and other similar verses which describe him as 'bull of the earth, sky,' etc., signify only that Indra is the chief person in the earth, sky, etc., (see Grassmann s. v. *vṛṣabha* 8) and are parallel in that respect to 1, 59, 2: *mūrdhā divó nābhīr agnīḥ pṛthivyāḥ*; 8, 44, 16: *agnīr mūrdhā divāḥ kakút pātiḥ pṛthivyā ayām* and other similar verses that describe Agni as such. And, on the other hand, Indra is described in many RV verses as the liberator of the Waters or Rivers that had been confined by Vṛtra, and as having made it easy for them to flow freely to the sea. Compare the passages cited by Hillebrandt in his *Ved. Myth*<sup>1</sup>, 3, 174-5; compare also 1, 32, 2: *āham āhim pārvate śīśriyānām tvāṣṭāsmāi vājraṁ svaryām tatakṣa | vāśrā iva dhenāvāḥ syāndamānā āñjaḥ samudrām*

*áva jagmur āpah* ; 2, 19, 3 : *sá mālina indro árṇo apām prairayad alihācchā samudrām* ; 6, 30, 4 : *áhann áhim parisáyānam árṇó 'vāsrjo apó ácchā samudrām* ; 1, 130, 5 : *tvám vṛthā nadyò indra sártavé 'cchā samudrām asrjo ráthāñ iva vājayatò ráthāñ iva* ; 6, 17, 12 ; *ā kṣódo máhi vṛtām nadīnām páriṣṭhitam asrja ūrmīm apām | tāsām ánu praváta indra pánthām prārdayo nícir apásah samudrām*. These Waters or Rivers, it is easy to understand, made fruitful all the lands they passed through on their way to the sea. Their water is hence called *páyas* 'milk,' in the RV, and the rivers themselves are described as overflowing with milk, *páyasā pínvamānāḥ*, in 3, 33, 4 : *enā vayám páyasā pínvamānā ánu yónim devákṛtaṁ cárantīḥ . . kimyúr vípro nadyò joha-vṛti* and 7, 51, 4 : *tā asmábhyaṁ páyasā pínvamānāḥ śivā devír aśipadā bhavantu sárva nadyò aśimidā bhavantu* and as easy to milk, *sudúghāḥ*, in 7, 36, 6 : *yāḥ suśváyanta sudúghāḥ sudhārā abhí svéna páyasā pīpyānāḥ*. 1, 33, 1 : *gāveva śubhré mātārā rihāné vipāt chutudrī páyasā javete* describes the rivers Vipās and Śutudri as 'running (overflowing) with milk like two milch-cows (hastening to their calves)'.

These Waters are described as *dāsápatnīḥ* 'wives of the dāsa,' in 1, 32, 11 : *dāsápatnīr áhigopā atīṣṭhan níruddhā āpah pañíveva gāvaḥ*, in 5, 30, 5 : *vísṣvā apó ajayad dāsápatnīḥ* and also in 8, 96, 18 : *tvám apó ajayo dāsápatnīḥ*. The dāsa referred to here is Vṛtra, who, in 8, 93, 2 : *tám indraṁ vājayāmasi mahé vṛtrāya hántave* is called 'great (strong).' Hence the Waters or Rivers themselves are called *vṛṣapatnīḥ* and *vṛṣṇaḥ pátnīḥ* 'wives of the strong one' in 8, 15, 6 : *vṛṣapatnīr apó jayā divé-dive* and 5, 42, 12 : *vṛṣṇaḥ pátnīr nadyò vibhvataṣṭāḥ* ; and in 4, 17, 3 : *vádhdīd vṛtrám vājreṇa mandasānūḥ sárann āpo jávasā hatávṛṣṇīḥ*, the Waters, after the killing of Vṛtra, are called *hatávṛṣṇīḥ* 'they whose strong husband had been killed.'

It is these Waters that are referred to as *dāmsu-patnīḥ* in pāda d of the above verse. I therefore translate

the verse as : " He caused to swell the rivers that cried out like maidens, that were covered with dust, youthful, knowers of the law. He filled the thirsty plains and deserts ; Indra milked the sterile wives of the strong one (i. e. made fruit-bearing the wives of the strong one that had been sterile)."

*nabhanvāḥ* in a signifies 'rivers' as stated in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and denotes the Rivers that were liberated by Indra. I follow Pischel (l.c.) in looking upon *nabhanvāḥ* as the *upameya* and *agrúvāḥ* as the *upamāna*. Regarding the separation of the particle *ná* from *agrúvāḥ*, compare Pischel's observation in *Ved. St.*, 1, 6 : "*ná* steht auch sonst zuweilen nicht direkt hinter dem Worte, zu dem es gehört. So z. B. 5, 36, 2 : *rúhat sómo ná párvatasya pr̥sthé* für *rúhat sómah pr̥sthé ná párvatasya*. Auch hier war das Metrum die Ursache der Umstellung."

The epithets *dhvasráḥ*, *yuvatíḥ* and *ṛtajñāḥ* should be construed with both *nabhanvāḥ* and *agrúvāḥ*. *dhvasrá*,<sup>10</sup> I conceive, is a synonym of the cognate word *dhūsara* 'dusty, covered with dust ;' and *dhvasráḥ* denotes, in the case of the Rivers, that they are dusty, i.e., that their beds have little or no water and are for the most part covered with dust, i. e., that the rivers are dried up, and in the case of the *agrúvāḥ*, that they are *rajasvalāḥ* (and therefore fit for impregnation.) *ṛtajñāḥ* denotes, in the case of the *agrúvāḥ*, that they knew the *ṛtu*<sup>11</sup> or proper time for intercourse (see in this connection R. Schmidt's *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*,<sup>2</sup> p. 285f., 295f.), and, in

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<sup>10</sup> Roth, in the PW, explains this word as *spritzend, stiebend ; ausstreuend* so v. a. *freigebig* ; so also does Grassmann. Pischel, in *Ved. St.*, 2, 102, explains it as 'finster,' 'verstimmt' 'missmutig,' 'gloomy' (but, as epithet of the Rivers, he interprets it as 'wasserlos,' 'seicht'). As we have seen above, Geldner interprets it as 'languishing' and Hillebrandt as 'a woman that (is sterile or has a husband who neglects her and) is pining away.'

<sup>11</sup> Compare 1, 164, 8 : *mātā pitāram ṛtā ā babhāja* where too the word *ṛtā* seems to be used in the sense of *ṛtu*.

the case of the Rivers, that they knew that, after the death of their husband Vṛtra, they have become the property (wives) of his conqueror Indra.

*adhog* 'milked,' in d, signifies that Indra made the Waters (Rivers) bear fruit, that is, that he released them so that they may quench the thirst of the plains and make the land fruitful. Compare in this connection the words *dhānṽāny ājṛāñi aprṇak tṛṣṇān* of pāda c and pāda b of AV. 6, 22, 3 that is cited below; compare also what has been said above about *pāyas*. The Waters (Rivers) are called *staryāḥ* because, when confined by Vṛtra, they were pent up in the mountains and could not reach the plains and make them fruitful.

Regarding the simile *agrūvo nā vākvāḥ*, compare pāda c of TS. 3, 1, 11, 7-8: *udaprūto marutas tāñ iyarta vṛṣṭim yé víśve marúto junānti | krósāti gárdā kanyēva tunnā péruṁ tuñjānā pátyeva jāyā* and AV. 6, 22, 8: *udaprūto marútas tāñ iyarta vṛṣṭir yā víśvā nivátas prṇāti | éjāti glāhā kanyēva tunnā éruṁ tundānā pátyeva jāyā*. The latter stanza is plainly corrupt (see Whitney, *AV. Trans.*) while the meaning of the former too is not clear. There is no doubt however that in both verses the Maruts are entreated to send down rain; that is to say, the situation is much the same as that referred to in RV 4, 19, 7. According to pāda c of the TS verse,<sup>12</sup> this rain 'roars, i. e., cries like a . . . maiden that is pricked'; and the expression *krósāti kanyēva tunnā* in it is exactly equivalent to the expression *agrūvo nā vākvāḥ* of the RV verse.

The word *dāmsu* that is employed in this verse (4, 19, 7) and, in my opinion, in 6, 3, 7 also explained above, is derived from the above-mentioned root *dams* 'to be strong' by the addition of the suffix *su*; compare

<sup>12</sup> *gardā* in this pāda is obscure. Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 85) says that it denotes 'geil,' but I am not convinced that this interpretation is correct.

*dakṣu* from *dah* 'to burn' and *makṣu* from *mah* 'to be great (strong, vigorous, etc.)'. It is explained variously by Sāyaṇa as *dāntair aśvaiḥ* (in 1, 122, 10), *danteṣu madhye* (in 1, 141, 4) and as *damseṣu karmavatsu | yad vā gr̥hanā-maitat | antya-lopaś chāndasaḥ | gr̥havad ācchādakeṣu . . yad vā damsu yāga-gr̥heṣu devayajaneṣu* (in 1, 134, 4). Roth and Grassmann interpret it as 'wunderkräftig, auf wunderbare Weise, erstaunlich,' while Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.* (I, 170, 179) has declared that the word is obscure and that the meaning 'in the house' does not suit. Pischel, in *Ved. St.*, 2, 103, has explained this word as 'mächtig,' i. e., mighty, great, powerful; and there is no doubt that this interpretation is correct, for, as observed above, it is derived from the root *damś* 'to be strong.' The word therefore signifies primarily 'strong, great, mighty, powerful,' and secondarily, 'swift, quick, rapid.' Regarding the transition of meaning, compare *Ved. St.*, 1, 16; 96f.; compare also the above-cited word *makṣú* which signifies primarily 'great, powerful' and secondarily (and most frequently) 'quick, swift, rapid.'

*dāmsu* seems, like *makṣú*, to be an indeclinable, and occurs in the following three verses also of the RV :

1, 122, 10 : *sā vrādhato náhuṣo dāmsujūtaḥ*  
*śārdhastaro narām gūrtáśravāḥ |*  
*vísṛṣṭarātir yāti bālhasṛtvā*  
*vísuvāsu pr̥tsú sādám íc chūrah ||*

"He is more swiftly-speeding, stronger, than the powerful Nahus; his fame is praised by men. Giving away gifts, he, the swift-goer, goes in all fights, always a hero." *dāmsujūtaḥ* = swiftly-speeding or 'in gewaltiger Eile' (Pischel; *Ved. St.*, 2, 103); it is an equivalent of the word *bālhasṛtvā* that occurs in pāda c, and means 'irresistible; difficult to check.' *sáh* in a refers to the person who worships Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities of this verse (see Sāyaṇa's commentary); and *dāmsujūtaḥ* even without the suffix *tara*, seems to have the meaning of a comparative here. Or, should we construe the suffix *tara* of *śardhastara* with *dāmsujūta* also?

Geldner, in *RV. Ueber.*, I, 353, has pointed out the similarity of 6, 24, 8: *nā vīlāve nāmāte nā sthirāya nā śārdhate dāsyujūtāya stavān | ājrā indrasya girāyaś cid ṛṣvā gambhiré cid bhavati gādhām asmai* with this verse. The words *dāmsujūta* and *dāsyujūta* in these two verses seem clearly to be parallel to each other. Similarly, as we have observed above, the word *dāmsupatnīḥ* in 4, 19, 7 is parallel to the word *dāsāpatnīḥ* in 1, 32, 11. Is it possible then that the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* are derived from the same root *daṁs* 'to be strong' from which *dāmsu* is derived, with loss of the nasal as in the cognate words *dasma* and *dasra*?

1, 134, 4: *túbhyam uṣāsaḥ śúcayaḥ parāvāti  
bhadrā vāstrā tanvate dāmsu raśmīṣu  
citrā nāvyeṣu raśmīṣu |  
túbhyam dhenūḥ sabardughā  
vīśvā vāsūni dohate |  
ājanayo marūto vakṣāṇābhyo  
divā ā vakṣāṇābhyah ||*

"For thee [O Vāyu], the bright Dawns weave beautiful garments (i.e., make beautiful ornaments) in the swift rays, marvellous (garments) in the new rays For thee does the milch-cow Sabardughā milk all riches. Thou hast engendered the Maruts from the wombs, from the wombs of Heaven." Regarding the epithet *dāmsu* 'swift' applied to *raśmīṣu*, compare 1, 63, 1: *girāyaḥ . . . bhiyā dṛḷhāsaḥ kirāṇā naijan* 'the firm mountains through fear, moved (as swiftly) as rays,' and 9, 69, 6: *sūryasyeva raśmāyo drāvayitnāvah* 'speeding swiftly like the rays of the sun.' Or, should we interpret *dāmsu raśmīṣu* as 'bright rays?' Regarding the transition of meaning from 'strong, swift' to 'bright,' see *Ved. St.*, 1, 96f.

*Sabardughā* (literally, 'Amṛta-milker' according to Sāyaṇa) is a cow that milks all desired things and is therefore a prototype of the Kāmadhenu of the later Purāṇas and Epics.

1, 141, 4: *prá yát pitúḥ paramān nīyāte páry*  
*ā prkṣúdho vīrúdhō dāmsu rohati |*  
*ubhā yád asya janúṣāṁ yád invata*  
*ād id yáviṣṭho abhavad ghrṇā śuciḥ ||*

“When he (sc. Agni) is brought down from the highest father, he quickly climbs the . . plants. When the two promote his birth, he, the youngest, glowed with heat.”

‘The highest father,’ mentioned in a is perhaps Dyaus or Heaven; see Geldner’s *RV. Ueber.*, I, 179. *pra+ni* however is a technical term used in the Śrautasūtras for the transportation of fire from the Āhavanīya-hearth to the Uttaravedi (see Caland-Henry, *L’Agni-ṣṭoma*, p. 78); and hence Sāyaṇa understands *paramāt pitúḥ* as referring to this Āhavanīya fire which thereafter comes to be known as the Gārhapatya fire. *prkṣúdhaḥ* is a hap. leg. whose meaning is not known; it signifies perhaps ‘strength-giving’. The ‘two’ mentioned in pāda c are, in all probability, the two araṇis. *dāmsu* = vigorously, swiftly; and *dāmsu ā rohati* refers perhaps to the rapid spread of Agni when consuming the plants; compare in this connection the expression *avartrā oṣadhīṣu* in 6, 12, 3 explained above (p. 112).

## § 8

### *pṛthak*

This is a word well-known in later literature where it has the meaning *nānā*, ‘diversely, variously, separately, individually, in different ways’; and it has been assumed by the commentators, Indian as well as European, that this is the meaning in the Veda also. This assumption is indeed correct as regards, 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1, and some other verses; but it is otherwise with regard to 10, 91, 7: *vātopadhūta iṣitō vāsāṇ ānu tṛṣṭu yád ānnā véviṣad vitiṣṭhase | ā te yatante rathyo yāthā pṛthak śārdhāmsy*



*agne ajārāṇi dhākṣataḥ*; 9, 86, 2: *prá te mādāso madirāsa āśávó ' sṛkṣata ráthyāso yāthā pr̥thak | dhenúr ná vatsám páyasābhī vajrīṇam indram indavo mādhumanta ūrmāyaḥ*; and 10, 142, 4: *yád udváto niváto yāsi bápsat pr̥thag eṣi pragardhíniva sénā | yadā te vāto anuvāti śócir vāpteva śmāśru vapasi prá bhūma* all which verses contain similes with *pr̥thak* as the *tertium comparationis*. In 10, 142, 4 it is said that Agni goes, *pr̥thak*, like a swift missile; in 10, 91, 7, that the flames of Agni press forward, *pr̥thak*, like the horses of a chariot; and in 9, 86, 2, that the swift gladdening streams of Soma rush forward, *pr̥thak*, like the horses of a chariot. It is obvious that the meaning 'diversely, variously, separately, in different ways', is inappropriate here; for the horses of a chariot can not be said to press forward 'diversely' or 'in different ways.' On the contrary, it is their community of action and community of goal that is the point of comparison elsewhere in the RV. Compare, for instance, 3, 33, 2: *ácchā samudráṁ rathyēva yāthaḥ* 'you, Vipāt and Śutudri, go to the sea (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. *anyā vām anyām ápy eti śubhre* in the same verse and *samānām yónim ánu saincārantī* in the next verse); 2, 39, 3: *arvāñcā yātām rathyēva śakrā* 'come, O ye two mighty (Aśvins) towards us (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 10, 106, 1: *sadhrīcinā yātave prēm ajīgaḥ*); and 3, 36, 6: *āpaḥ samudráṁ rathyēva jagmuḥ* 'the waters went (together) to the sea like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 5, 60, 3: *āpa iva sadhryāñco dhavadhve*). Compare also the epithet *sahavāhaḥ*, drawing together, used of the horses which draw the chariot of Bṛhaspati in 7, 97, 6: *tām śagmāso aruṣāso áśvā bṛhaspátim sahavāho vahanti | sāhaś cid yásya nīlavat sadhāstham nábho ná rūpām aruṣām vásānāḥ*. *pr̥thak* therefore cannot mean 'diversely,' 'variously,' 'separately,' 'in different ways,' here; it must have some other signification that can yield good sense in these passages.

What this other signification is, can be determined from these passages themselves. As we have seen, *prthag-gamana* is a common characteristic of Agni, of Agni's flames, of the horses of a chariot, and of a swift missile—that is, of a weapon that has been hurled against the foe. If we find out therefore from other passages of the RV an answer to the question 'What attribute is it that is characteristic of the movement of the above-named things?', we shall in all likelihood have found out the meaning of *prthak* in these passages.

The answer to the above question is not difficult to find; for, the only attribute that characterises commonly the movement of Agni, Agni's flames, etc., is 'swiftness,' 'rapidity,' 'quickness,' 'impetuousness,' etc. Compare respectively the following passages: (a) 3, 26, 2: *tām śubhrām agnīm āvase havāmahe . . . ātithim raghuśyādam* 'we invoke him for protection, Agni, the bright, the swift-moving, the guest'; 10, 6, 4: *devāṇ ācchā raghupátvā jigāti* 'he (Agni), the swift-mover, goes to the gods'; 1, 140, 9: *tuviṅrēbhīḥ sātvaabhir yāti ví jráyaḥ* 'he moves swiftly with his much-devouring flames'; 1, 79, 1: *āhir dhúnir vāta iva dhráḥīmān* '(Agni) swift (like) Ahi, flying like the wind'; 4, 4, 4: *prāti spāso ví sṛja tūrṇitamah* 'send forth thy spies, (O Agni,) thou that art the swiftest'; (b) 4, 4, 2: *táva bhramāsa āśuyā patanti* 'thy flames go swiftly'; 6, 66, 10: *tr̥ṣu-cyāvaso juhvò nágnéh* 'moving swiftly like the tongues (i.e., flames) of Agni'; 9, 22, 2: *agnér iva bhramā vṛthā* 'impetuous like the flames of Agni'; 4, 6, 10: *tveṣāso agne arcāyaś cāranti śyenāso ná duvasānāso ārtham* 'thy bright flames, O Agni, move (swiftly) like hawks coursing to their goal'; 4, 6, 5: *drávanty asya vājino ná śókāḥ* 'his flames run like racing horses'; (c) 1, 148, 3: *āsvāso ná rathyo rārahāṇāḥ* 'coursing like the horses of a chariot'; 10, 119, 3: *ún mā pītā ayaṁsata rátham āsvā ivāśávaḥ* 'the streams (of Soma) drunk (by me) have roused me (as quickly) as swift horses (draw) a chariot'

(cf. preceding verse, *prá vātā iva dódhata ún mā pītā ayamsata*); 4, 1, 3: *sákhe sákhāyam abhy ā vavṛtsvāsúm ná cakráṁ ráthyeva ráṁhyā* 'carry the friend to us, O friend, with speed, as the two horses of a chariot roll the swift wheel'; 2, 4, 6: *vār ná pathā ráthyeva svānīt* 'who, (Agni,) rushed forth (as swiftly) as water on its path, as the two horses of a chariot'; (d) 9, 69, 6: *sūryasyeva raśmāyo drāvayitnāvo matsarāsaḥ prasúpaḥ sākūm irate* 'the torpid (?), intoxicating (streams of Soma) move together, swift like the rays of the sun'; 9, 69, 7: *sīndhor iva pravaṇe nimnā āśāvo vṣacyulā mādāso gātūm āsata* 'the streams of Soma, falling from (the hands of) the priest proceed on their way, swift like the currents of a river down an incline'; 9, 86, 1: *prá ta āśāvaḥ pavamāna dhījāvo mādā arṣanti raghuḥā iva tmānā* 'thy swift, thought-inspiring, intoxicating streams, O Pavamāna, rush forward of themselves like horses born of fleet (sires and dams)'; 1, 5, 7: *ā tvā viśantv āśāvaḥ sōmāsa indra girvaṇaḥ* 'let the swift streams of Soma enter into you, O Indra fond of praise'; 9, 22, 1: *etē sōmāsa āśāvo rúthā iva prá vājīnaḥ | sárgāḥ sṛṣṭā ahaṣata* 'these swift streams of Soma have moved (as swiftly) as racing chariots, (as) horses unloosed'; (c) 1, 143, 5: *ná yó vārāya marútām iva svanāḥ séneva sṛṣṭā dīvyā yáthāsāniḥ* 'that, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile sent on its way, like the thunderbolt of heaven, can not be stopped'; 6, 6, 5: *ádha jīhvā pāpatīti prá vṣṇo goṣuyúdhō nāśāniḥ sṛjānā* 'then speeds the flame of the bull (sc. Agni) like the missile hurled by the fighter for cows'; 1, 116, 1: *yāv árbbhagāya vimádāya jāyām senājúvā nyūhātū ráthēna* 'who (two) brought a wife to the young Vimada in a chariot that is as swift as a missile.'

*pr̥thak* therefore signifies in 10, 91, 7 and similar verses 'swiftly', 'rapidly', 'quickly,' 'impetuously,' etc., a meaning which suits the context. It has this meaning in the following passages:

2, 17, 3 : *údhākṛṇoḥ prathamám vīryám mahád  
yád asyāgre bráhmaṇā śúṣmam aīrayaḥ |  
ratheṣṭhēna háryaśvena vícyutāḥ  
prá jīráyaḥ sisrate sadhryāk pṛthak ||*

“ Then didst thou, (O Bṛhaspati) perform (thy) first valiant deed when thou, before this (Indra), didst shatter the powerful (Vala) with thy spell. The swift (Waters) released by (Indra), who was in his chariot (and) who has tawny horses, rush forward together impetuously.”

There are some difficulties in the first half of this verse. The release of the Waters mentioned in the second half-verse indicates that the valiant deed (*mahád vīryám*) of the first half-verse refers to the overthrow of the demon that had imprisoned them; compare 2, 22, 1 : *sá im mamāda máhi kárma kártave mahám urúm saínám saścād devó devám satyám índram satyá induḥ*; 2, 24, 14 : *bráhmaṇas páter abhavad yathāvaśám satyó manyúr máhi kármā kariṣyatáḥ* where also the phrase *máhi kárma* refers to such overthrow; cf. also 3, 33, 7 : *pravācyam śaśvadhā vīryám tát índrasya kárma yád áhim vívṛśát | ví vájreṇa pariśádo jaghānāyann āpóyanam icchámānāḥ*. I therefore take *śúṣma* as referring to the demon that imprisoned the Waters, and *aīrayaḥ* in the sense of shattering, destroying—a sense which the word has in the preceding verse but one, *vísṛvā yád gotrá súhasā páriṇvṛtā máde sómasya dṛmhitāny aīrayat*. The mention of *bráhmaṇ* as the instrument used for shattering shows (comp. 2, 24, 3 *úd gā ājad ábhinaḍ bráhmaṇā valám*) that the first half-verse is addressed to Bṛhaspati who is known as *brahmaṇas pati* or ‘lord of spells.’ It is indeed possible to interpret, as Oldenberg has in fact done (*RV. Noten* I, p. 201), the first half-verse also as being addressed to Indra. But this seems to me however to be a somewhat forced interpretation, and I prefer to regard this verse as belonging to the type of verses (cf. 1, 62, 4) whose two halves refer to Indra and Bṛhaspati respectively, and to interpret it as above.

The word *asya* in the second pāda seems to refer to Indra and the words *asya agre* to be equivalent to *asya purah*. Bṛhaspati is, as we know from 2, 24, 9 and the Yajus texts (T.S. 6, 4, 10 ; MS. 4, 6, 3 ; KS. 27, 8) the purohita of the gods (*devāḥ*) and therefore of their chief, Indra, also. Now, the chief function of the king's purohita is, as laid down by Indian writers, the removal, by means of magical spells, of all evils whether caused by human or by extrahuman agency. These writers therefore lay particular stress on the necessity of having as purohita one that is well-versed in Atharvaṇic spells ; see, for instance, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra 1, 8, 5 (p. 15) : *purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam ṣaḍaṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām ca abhivinītam, āpadām daivamānuṣiṇām atharvabhir upāyais ca pratikartāram kurvīta* ; Mahābhārata 12, 73, 30-31 : *bhārgavāṅgirasām vede kṛtavidyaḥ ṣaḍaṅgavit || yajñakarmavidhijñas tu vidhijñah paustikeṣu ca | aṣṭādaśavikalpānām vidhijñah śāntikarmaṇām || sarvarogavihīnaś ca saṁyutaḥ saṁyatendriyaḥ | (purohitah kāryaḥ)* ; Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1, 313 : *purohitam prakurvīta daivajñam uditoditam | daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā* ; see also ch. II of the Bṛhatsamhitā. An efficient purohita therefore was able to destroy all evils and enemies that threatened the king ; compare the following śloka : <sup>1</sup> *upapañnam nanu śivam saptaśv aṅgeṣu yasya me | daivīnām mānuṣiṇām ca pratikartā tvam āpadām ||60|| tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśamitāribhiḥ | pratyādiśyanta iva me dr̥ṣṭalakṣyabhidah śarāḥ* addressed by king Dilīpa to his purohita Vasiṣṭha in the Raghuvamśa (I. 60, 61). In the light of these passages we can now understand better the role played by Bṛhaspati in the incidents referred to by the RV. The

<sup>1</sup> It is likewise useful to compare the preceding śloka also :

*athātharvanidhes tasya vijitāripurah purah |  
arthyām arthapatir vācam ādade vadatām varah ||59||*

Note also the close agreement in word as well as in meaning of these verses with the passage from Kauṭilya given above,

chant or shout (*arka*, *brahman*, *rava*, *virava*, *kranda*, *stanita*, etc.) with which he destroyed the demon and set free the cows and waters (see Bergaigne I, 302 ; Boyer, *J.A.*, 1906, I, p. 401ff.) represents the magical spell or *mantra* which he, as *purohita*, used in favour of his patron Indra against his foes. His comparison too, with a 'lion roaring in his den' in 10, 67, 9 (*simhām iva nānadatām sadhāsthe*) is one that is pregnant with meaning. The lion, it is believed, kills other animals by its mere roar ; compare the Jātaka stories No. 152<sup>2</sup> and 241<sup>3</sup> and the following sentences in Müller's translation of the first six stories of the *Piṣācaprakaraṇam* which is without doubt derived from an Indian original (ZDMG., 48, pp. 198 ff.) :

(Pages 205, 206) "Jener Löwen-König besass ungeheure Stärke. Er pflegte in den Wald zu gehen and die Thiere durch sein Gebrüll zu tödten" ;

(Page 206) "Denn jener Löwen-König pflegt, wenn er sein Gebrüll ausgestossen hat, und irgend ein Thier gestorben ist" ;

(Page 216) "Da ward der Löwen-König, der Grossvater jener Prinzessin, zornig. Er stiess ein Gebrüll aus, da starben Sangvathan [a jackal-king] und sein gesammtes Gefolge" ;

and as a *purohita* performs his *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika* and *ābhicārika* ceremonies in his *yāgaśālā*, and as the mantras used therein kill the enemies even though they be afar, the comparison of these mantras with

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<sup>2</sup> *Sīho . . . . tikkhattum sīhanādam nadi. Pathaviyā saddhim ākāsam ekaninnādam ahosi. Siṅgālassa phalikaḡuhāya nipannass'eva bhītatasiṭussa hadayaṃ phali. So tatth'eva jīvitakkhayaṃ pāpuṇi.* (p. 8)

<sup>3</sup> *Sīho . . . . tikkhattum appalivattiyam sīhanādam nadi . . . . te pi hatthī sīhanādam sutvā maraṇabhayatajjitā aññamaññaṃ oviḡjhivā tatth'eva jīvitakkhayaṃ pāpuṇimsu. Thapetvā sihe sesāpi migasākarādayo sasabīlālapariyosānā sabbe catupphadā tatth'eva jīvitakhayaṃ pāpuṇimsu . . . . Dvādasayojaniko mamsarāsi ahosi.* (p. 245)

the roar of a lion, and of the purohita Bṛhaspati with a lion roaring in his den is singularly felicitous. Another figure of speech compares these rites and ceremonies which he performs to a *ratha* or war-chariot, in 2, 23, 3, which represents Bṛhaspati as mounted on the chariot of rite (*ṛtasya ratham*) which destroys enemies, slays demons, shatters the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows and wins the light.

Sāyaṇa, who as usual takes *pr̥thak* to mean 'in different ways,' has ingeniously attempted to explain away the consequent contradiction here between *sadhryāk* and *pr̥thak* by saying that the 'going in different ways' was caused by fear—*vicyutāḥ svasthānāc cyāvitāḥ santāḥ sadhryāk sadhricīnāḥ parasparasamgatāḥ pr̥thak bhītyā viyuktāḥ santāḥ prasisrate prakarṣeṇa dhāvanti*. It is however the nature of Waters to flow together; compare 4, 47, 2: *yuvām hī yāntīndavo nimnām āpo nā sadhryāk*; and 5, 60, 3: *āpa iva sadhryāñco dhavadhve*; and the Waters (or Rivers) released by Indra are in many places said to have moved swiftly forward; cf. 1, 32, 2: *vāsrā iva dhenávaḥ syāndamānā āñjaḥ samudrām āva jagmur āpaḥ* 'running, like lowing cows (to their calves), the waters went straight to the sea'; 1, 130, 5: *tvām vṛthā nadyā indra sártavé 'cchā samudrām asījo ráthāñ iva vājayató ráthāñ iva* 'thou hast released the rivers, O Indra, to run to the sea impetuously like chariots, like racing chariots'; 2, 15, 3: *vājreṇa khāny atṛṇan nadīnām | vṛthāsṛjat pathibhir dīrghayāthaiḥ* 'with the Vajra he bored openings for the rivers and let them loose (to flow) in long-extended paths'; 4, 17, 3: *vādhiḍ vṛtrām vājreṇa mandasāndhī sārann āpo jávasā hatāvṛṣṇīḥ* 'exulting he killed Vṛtra with the Vajra: the waters, whose lord was killed, rushed forth swiftly'; and specially, 10, 111, 9-10: *sṛjāḥ sindhūṇīr áhinā jagrasnāñ ād id etāḥ prá vivijre javéna | múmukṣamānā utá yā mumucré 'dhéd etā ná ramante níliktāḥ | sadhricīḥ sindhum usatīr ivāyan* 'thou didst deliver the Rivers swallowed by the dragon

and these sped forth swiftly—those desiring to be free as well as those that were freed; the swift ones do not stop; like loving (wives) they went to the sea together.' It should be noted that both the ideas of 'going together' and 'going swiftly' are given expression to in this last-quoted passage.

8, 100, 7 : *prá nūnām dhāvatā pṛthaiṇ*  
*nēhá yó vo āvāvarīt |*  
*nī śīm vṛtrásya mārmaṇi*  
*vájram índro apīpatat ||*

"Run forth now swiftly; he is not now who had detained you. Indra has hit Vṛtra in his vital parts with the Vajra." This is, as is evident, an address to the Waters.

3, 56, 4 : *abhīka āsām padavīr abodhy*  
*ādityānām ahve cāru nāma !*  
*āpaś cid asmā aramanta devīḥ*  
*pṛthag vrājantīḥ pári śīm avṛñjan ||*

The meaning of this verse is not quite clear; I translate tentatively: "Their leader became known in the fight; I have invoked the sweet name of the Ādityas. Even the immortal Waters stopped for him; moving swiftly, they left (him)." With regard to the third pāda, compare 2, 30, 1 : *indrāyāhi ghné ná ramanta āpaḥ*. The fourth pāda seems to refer to the same situation as 7, 21, 3 : *tvám indra srāvitavā apāḥ kaḥ páriṣṭhitā áhinā sūra pūrvīḥ | tvád vāvakre rathyo ná dhénā réjante víśvā kṛtrímāṇi bhiṣā* and 4, 22, 6 : *údhāha tvád vṛṣamaṇo bhiyānāḥ prá sindhavo jávasā cakramanta*.

2, 24, 14 : *bráhmaṇas páter abhavad yathāvasām*  
*satyo manyúr máhi kármā kariṣyatāḥ |*  
*yó gā úd ājat sá divé ví cābhajan*  
*mahīva rītīḥ śávasāsarat pṛthak ||*

"The powerful spell of Brahmanaspati who was engaged in a great work had its own way (*i.e.*, acted as desired); (he) who drove forth the cows gave it to heaven; (the herd of cows) like a great current went



forward impetuously with strong force." 'The great work' refers, as I have said above, to the overthrowing of the demon that has imprisoned the waters and cows. The *iva* in the fourth pāda, though apparently an *uṣamā-vācaka*, seems really to be used in the sense of *ca*, that is, as a *samuccaya-vācaka* with the force of 'and'; for Bṛhaspati sets free, not only cows, but the waters also. Compare 2, 23, 18: *tāva śrivé vy àjihīta pārvato gāvām gotrām úd asṛjo yád aṅgiraḥ | indreṇa yujā tāmasā pāriṇṛtaṁ bṛhaspate nūr apām aubjo arṇavām*; see also 6, 73, 3; 2, 24, 73-4.

9, 86, 2: *prá te mādāso madirāsa āśāvo'*  
*'sṛkṣata ráthyāso yáthā pṛthak |*  
*dhenúr ná vatsám páyasābhí vajríṇam*  
*índram índavo mádhumanta ūrmáyah ||*

"Thy swift, gladdening streams (O Soma), ran forth impetuously like the horses of a chariot. The sweet-bearing streams (have run) towards Indra, the Vajra-bearer, as a cow with milk runs to its calf."

10, 44, 6: *pṛthak prāyan prathamā deváhūtayó*  
*'kr̥ṇvata śravasyāni duṣṭārā |*  
*ná yé śekúr yajñíyām nāvam ārúham*  
*irmaivá té ny àviśanta képayah ||*

This verse is somewhat obscure. I translate, following Yāska (*Nirukta*, 5, 25, 1): "The first invokers of the gods sped forth swiftly and performed famous (deeds) difficult to surpass; the wicked people who were unable to get upon the ship of sacrifice, stayed here only."

10, 91, 7: *vātopadhūta iṣitó vāsāñ ánu*  
*tṛṣú yád ánnā véviṣad vitiṣṭhase |*  
*ā te yatante rathyò yáthā pṛthak*  
*śárdhāmsy agne ajārāṇi dhákṣataḥ ||*

"When thou, O Agni, being fanned by the wind, extendest thyself rapidly, following thy desires, and reachest forth eagerly after food, the unaging flames of thee, that art burning, move forward swiftly like the horses of a chariot."

10, 142, 4 : *yād udvāto nivāto yāsi bāpsat*  
*pṛthag eṣi pragardhīnīva sēnā |*  
*yadā te vāto anu vāti sośir*  
*vāpteva śmāśru vapasi prā bhūma ||*

“ When thou goest, devouring, over ups and downs, thou movest as quickly as a swift missile. When the wind is blowing behind thy flame, thou shavest the earth as a barber the moustache.” *pragardhīnī* (meaning, literally, ‘greedy’)= swift here; compare the similar use of the words *gṛdhnū* and *gṛdhyantam* in 1, 70, 11; *sādhūr nā gṛdhnūḥ* ‘swift like an excellent (horse)’ and 4, 38, 5: *padbhīr gṛdhyantam medhayūm nā śūram* ‘speeding with a will, like a valiant soldier in battle’. Regarding the transition of meaning from ‘greedy’ to ‘swift,’ compare the analogous words *tṛṣū* ‘thirsty, swift’ and *tāṛṣāṇā* ‘thirsting, swift-moving’ in 6, 66, 10 cited above and 2, 4, 6: *ā yó vānā tāṛṣāṇó nā bhāti vār nā pathā rāthyeva svānit*. Compare also in this connection 1, 143, 5 and other verses cited above (p. 139) about the swiftness of the missile and the expressions ‘swift as an arrow; quick as a dart; pfeil-schnell’ and other similar ones in English and German.

10, 101, 4 : *sīrā yuñjanti kavāyo*  
*yugā ví tanvate pṛthag |*  
*dhīrā devēṣu summayā ||*

“ The wise put the ploughs together; the clever, desiring the grace of the gods, quickly make ready the yokes.”

AV. 11, 5, 13 : *agnau sūrye candrāmasi mātariśvan*  
*brahmacāry āpsū samīdham ā dadhāti |*  
*tāsām arcīmṣi pṛthag abhré caranti*  
*tāsām ājyam pūruṣo varṣām āpaḥ ||*

“ In the fire, in the sun, in the moon, in *Mātariśvan*, in the waters, the Vedic student puts fuel. Their gleams go quickly to the cloud; their sacrificial butter is man,

rain, waters." Compare Manusmṛti III, 76: *agnau prāstāhutih samyag ādityam upatiṣṭhate | ādityāj jāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣter annam tataḥ prajāḥ.*

AV. 7, 45, 2: *agnēr ivāsya dāhato dāvāsya dāhataḥ pr̥thak | etām etāsyesṣyām udnāgnīm iva śamaya ||*

"Extinguish, as (one does) fire with water, this man's jealousy which is burning impetuously (*i.e.*, fiercely) like fire, like forest-fire."

AV. 4, 15, 2: *sām īkṣayantu taviṣāḥ sudānavo  
'pām rāsā ōṣadhībhiḥ sacantām |  
varṣāsya sargā mahayantu bhūmim  
pr̥thag jāyantām ōṣadhayo viśvārūpāḥ ||*

"Let the strong liberal ones (*sc.* the Maruts) cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

AV. 4, 15, 3: *sām īkṣayasva gāyato nūbhāmsy  
apām vėgāsah pr̥thag úd vijantām |  
varṣāsya sargā mahayantu bhūmim  
pr̥thag jāyantām ōṣadhayo viśvārūpāḥ ||*

"Do thou make the singers behold the clouds together; let the swift streams of water rush out rapidly; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

Whitney in his *Translation* (p. 172) renders *pr̥thak* in these passages as 'here and there;' and gives a note, after verse 4, that "*pr̥thak*, lit. 'severally, separately' is used in these verses rather in the sense of 'all about, everywhere'." It seems to me that it is preferable to accept here (for verses 2 and 3) the meaning, 'quickly, rapidly' established for *pr̥thak* above, and that this makes it unnecessary to suggest a third meaning, 'all about, everywhere,' for it. With regard to verse 4, the meaning *nānā*, 'severally,' may be considered to suit well here and also in AV. 3, 19, 6 and 5, 20, 7, where, too, the

words *pr̥thak* and *ghoṣa* (in 5, 20, 7 its synonym *dhvanayaḥ*) occur. A better sense, however, is yielded by these passages if we interpret *pr̥thak* here as 'strong', a meaning which is a development from that of 'rapid, quick, impetuous'; see *Vedische Studien* I, p. 47 and 97 for numerous examples of such development. I would therefore translate these verses as follows:

AV. 4, 15, 4: *gaṇās tvópa gāyantu mārutāḥ*  
*parjanya ghoṣīṇaḥ pr̥thak |*  
*sārgā varṣāsya varṣato*  
*varṣantu pr̥thivīm ānu ||*

"Let the troops of Maruts that shout strongly sing to thee, O Parjanya; let gushes of raining rain rain along the earth." Shouting strongly is a characteristic of the Maruts that is frequently mentioned in the RV; compare for instance 1, 64, 8: *siṃhā iva nānadati pr̥cetasah*; 1, 85, 2: *ārcanto arkām janāyanta indriyām údhi śríyo dadhire p̥śnimātarah*; 5, 54, 12: *svāranti ghósaṁ vítatam ṛtāyāvah*; compare also, 1, 169, 7; 3, 26, 5, and Bergaigne II, 373.

AV. 3, 19, 6: *úd dhárṣantām maghavan vājināny*  
*úd vīrāṇām jáyatām etu ghósaḥ |*  
*pr̥thag ghósa ululáyaḥ*  
*ketumánta úd íratām |*  
*devā indrajyeṣṭhā marúto yantu sénayā ||*

"Let their energies be excited, O bounteous one; let the shout of the conquering heroes arise; let strong shouts and clear jubilant cries go up; let the divine Maruts with Indra as chief go with the army." To *pr̥thag ghósaḥ* in this verse corresponds *dyumān ghósaḥ* in 10, 84, 4. *dyumántam ghósaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe*.

AV. 5, 20, 7: *antarémé nābhasī ghóso astu*  
*pr̥thak te dhvānayo yantu śibham |*  
*abhi kranda stanáyotpīpānah*  
*ślokaḥn mitratúryāya swardhī ||*

“Let there be noise between these two firmaments ; let thy sounds go swift and strong ; roar (at them), thunder, truculent, resounding unto the victory of our friends, a good partizan.” The last half-verse is unintelligible to me and I have therefore repeated here the translation of Whitney.

*pṛthak* has the sense of *nānā* in the other RV passages where it occurs, namely, in 1, 131, 2 ; 1, 157, 1 ; 8, 43, 18 and 8, 43, 29.

1, 131, 2 : *vśśveṣu hī tvā sāvaneṣu tuñjāte*  
*samānām ékaṁ vśśamanyavaḥ pṛthak*  
*svàḥ sániṣyavaḥ pṛthak |*  
*tām tvā nāvaṁ ná parśāṇim*  
*śūśāsya dhurí dhīmahi |*  
*índraṁ ná yajñáś citáyanta āyávaḥ*  
*stómebhir índraṁ āyávaḥ ||*

“(They) call urgently to thee in all Soma-libations—thee that art one and common, the people with excellent hymns (of praise), desiring to attain light, (call upon) separately. We people, glorifying Indra with praises as with sacrifices, place at the head of the strong (hymn), thee, that, like a ship, carriest us across.”

1, 157, 1 : *úbodhy agnír jma úd eti sūryo*  
*vy ūśśāś candrá mahy āvo arcíśā |*  
*āyukṣātām aśvínā yātave rátham*  
*prāsāvid deváḥ savitā jágat pṛthak ||*

“Agni has awaked ; the sun rises from the earth ; the bright dawn has opened heaven and earth with her light ; the (two) Aśvins have yoked their chariot for going ; the divine Savitr has impelled the world individually (to action).”

8, 43, 18 : *túbhyaṁ tá aṅgirastama*  
*vśśvāḥ sukṣitáyāḥ pṛthak |*  
*ágne kāmāya yemire ||*

“Thee, O best of Aṅgirasas, have all those people with good dwelling-houses, attached to themselves, separately, in order to obtain their desires, O Agni.”

8, 43, 29 : *túbhyaṁ ghét té jánā imé*  
*viśvāḥ sukṣitāyaḥ pṛthak |*  
*dhāśīm hinvanty áttave ||*

“All these people with good dwelling-houses (O Agni) have separately impelled thee to eat the food.” The words *viśvāḥ sukṣitāyaḥ* in these two verses though literally meaning ‘all (people) that have good dwelling-houses’ seem to be used in the sense of ‘all (people) possessed of houses, i.e., householders’; *viśvāḥ sukṣitāyaḥ* thus=*viśve gr̥hapatayaḥ*, *viśveṣu gr̥heṣu naraḥ*, *gr̥he-gr̥he naraḥ*. Compare 5, 14, 4; 10, 91, 2; 1, 128, 4; 4, 7, 3; etc.

Thus the meaning of *pṛthak* is 1. (a) quick, rapid, impetuous; (b) strong; and 2. separately, differently, diversely, variously.

Likewise, the root *prath*, from which the word *pṛthak* is without doubt derived, and its derivative *pṛthu* seem also to signify ‘to rush, to move quickly or swiftly’ and ‘swift’ respectively. Regarding the latter word, namely *pṛthu*, it is the first member of the compound *pṛthuprajña* which is given in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Mironow’s ed.; 48) as a synonym of *āsuprajña*, *javanaprajña*, *tīkṣṇaprajña*, *gambhīraprajña*, etc. This seems to indicate that *pṛthu* in *pṛthuprajña* means *āsu* or *javana*.

## § 9

### *yakṣám*

*yakṣá* (neuter) is a somewhat difficult word that occurs about thirty times in the Vedic texts and that has not so far been satisfactorily explained by the exegetists. The explanations proposed for this word by the earlier

ones are collected by Geldner on pp. 126, 127 of the *Vedische Studien*, Vol. 3, in the beginning of the article which he has written on this word. Geldner has there, after giving expression to the opinion that none of these explanations is satisfactory, come to the conclusion (p. 143) that *yakṣá* means I. (a) Erstaunen, Verwunderung, Neugierde; (b) Wunder, Rätsel; 2. Wunder, Kunststück, Zauber, (a) Hexerei, Zauberei; (b) Verzauberung; Verwandlung; (c) Gaukelei, Blendwerk, Illusion; (d) Wunderkraft, Wunderkur, Heilzauber; 3. Gegenstand der Bewunderung oder Neugierde, Kuriosität, (a) Wundertier; (b) Schaustück, Fest; (c) Naturwunder wie grosse Bäume u.s.w. M. Boyer who has likewise written an article on this word in the *Journal Asiatique* (1906, I, pp. 393-477), sees no necessity for the acceptance of this long array of meanings. Following the explanation of Roth (übernatürliches Wesen, geisterhafte Erscheinung) and Bergaigne (apparition surnaturelle), he thinks that *yakṣá* denotes only 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' *une forme (visible de fait ou conçue comme telle) propre à étonner le regard*, and has, in his above-mentioned article, attempted to show that the meaning *fantome, apparition, apparition merveilleuse, merveille*, fits in best with the context and is sufficient to explain every passage in which the word occurs. Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 44) agrees with M. Boyer in thinking that there is no necessity for a long series of meanings, and that one meaning is enough to explain all the passages in which the word occurs. This one meaning, however, is according to Oldenberg, 'wunderbare geheimnisvolle (darum häufig unheimliche) Wesenheit' and not 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder' as proposed by M. Boyer. And this seems now to be the opinion of Geldner also who in his latest book (*RV. Ueber.*) remarks, in connection with the verse 4, 3, 13, '*yakṣám*; Heimlichkeit oder Blendwerk. *yakṣá* ist etwas Geheimnisvolles oder

Wunderbares,' and thus seems to have abandoned his former suggestion in favour of that of Oldenberg. On the other hand, Hillebrandt has,<sup>1</sup> in his recently written article on this word (*Festgabe für Richard von Garbe*, pp. 17-23), explained it as 1. Zauberding, Zauberwesen (RV), unheimliches Wesen (Kauś. S); 2. übernatürliches grosses Wesen höherer Art (AV); 3. yakṣa [i. e., guhyaka or follower of Kubera] (AV. XI, 6, 10 and Gobh. G.S. 3, 4, 281).

The attempt to dispense with a long array of meanings and to make one meaning suffice for all passages is without doubt laudable; but it seems to me that in saying that this meaning is a 'wonderful, mysterious (and therefore sinister) being' or 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' the savants above-named have not quite hit the mark, and that these meanings do not, any more than those proposed by Geldner, fit in a number of passages, *e.g.*, in RV. 10, 88, 13; AV. 8, 9, 8 and 11, 2, 24; Śat. Br. 12, 2, 3, 5. I propose therefore to investigate anew here the meaning of this word *yakṣa*.

It is necessary for me to begin first by referring to the close correspondence that exists between the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* in post-Vedic literature. In this literature, *yakṣa* like *bhūta*, denotes a class of superhuman beings known as *devayonayaḥ* in Sanskrit literature (*cf.* Amarakośa, 1, 11: *vidyādhara 'psaro-yakṣa-rakṣo-gandharva-kinnarāḥ | piśāro guhyakāḥ siddho bhūto 'mī devayonayaḥ*), and as *vyantarāḥ* in Jaina literature (*cf.* Uttarādhyayana, p. 1084: *piśāya bhūyā jakkhā ya rakkhasā kinnarā ya kimpurīsā | mahoragā ya gandhavvā aṭṭhavihā vāṇamantarā* and *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, 4, 12). These beings are represented as dwelling in unoccupied houses, in

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<sup>1</sup> He has also referred to Hertel's explanation of the word as 'Licht, Feuer' on p. 43 of his *Die Arische Feuerlehre* Vol. I, a book which is inaccessible to me.



trees, forests or woods, ponds, etc., which are then said to be possessed, *adhiṣṭhita*, by them; compare Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 143, Jātaka stories, No. 154 and 155, and Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 36, and Index, s.v. *yakṣa*. To *Yakṣas* as to *Bhūtas*<sup>2</sup>, temples were built, adoration paid and *bali* offered; and festivals, *yātrāḥ* or *utsavāḥ*, were instituted in their honour. They were invoked in times of danger, and vows were taken in honour of them at such times and also when people prayed for the fulfilment of any desire. Compare for instance the following passages from the Jñātādharmakathā:—

(p. 417) *Rāyagihassa nayarassa bahiyā nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya indāṇi ya khundāṇi ya ruddāṇi ya sivāṇi ya vesāṇi ya vesamaṇāṇi ya tattha naṃ bahuṇaṃ nāgapadimāṇi ya jāva vesamaṇapadimāṇi ya maharihaṇi pupphaccaṇiyaṃ karettā jānu-pāya-vaḍḍiyā evaṃ vayittā jai naṃ ahaṃ devāṇuppiyā dāragāṃ vā dārigāṃ vā payāyāmi teṇaṃ ahaṃ tuṃhaṃ jāyaṃ ca dāyaṃ ca bhāyaṃ ca akkhaya-nīhiṃ ca anuvattēmi.*

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<sup>2</sup> The investigations of anthropologists have shown that belief in the existence, and worship, of evil spirits (demons) plays a prominent role in the religious speculations and practices of primitive people everywhere in the world; and the opinion has been expressed by writers on Vedic religion and mythology that such belief and worship were prevalent among the Āryans of R̥gvedic times. Thus Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, p. 55f.) believes that the existence of such belief and practice is unmistakably indicated by certain details of the Vedic cult; and Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, III, p. X) says that the belief in the existence of evil spirits is met with to a small extent in the RV, and that the worship too of evil spirits must have been prevalent at the time though, as he thinks, no trace of such worship is to be seen in the RV. As we know from later literature that the worship of *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* was general and wide-spread, it is permissible to infer that the worship of evil spirits in R̥gvedic times too must have, to a great extent, consisted in the worship of *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas*, or at least, that *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* were included in the evil spirits that received worship in the time of the RV.

[Bhadra, wife of the caravan-leader, *sārthavāha*, Dhanya, thinks] "Outside the city of Rājagṛha are the temples of Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva, Veśa, and Vaiśravaṇa. There after a grand worship with flowers of the images of Nāgas, etc., up to Vaiśravaṇa, and after falling on the knees, saying thus: 'If, now, O beloved of the gods, I shall give birth to a son or a daughter, I shall then establish a worship of you, make gifts to you, appoint portions for you, and shall establish a permanent fund <sup>3</sup> for you.'"

(p. 409) *jūya-khalayāṇi ya vesāgārāṇi ya . . . .*  
*siṅghāḍagāṇi ya tayāṇi ya caukkāṇi ya caccarāṇi ya nāga-*  
*gharāṇi ya bhūya-gharāṇi ya jakkha-deūlāṇi ya . . . .*  
 [The robber Vijaya was in the habit of visiting and wandering through] "Gambling-dens, drink-saloons, courtesans' houses, places where three, four, and more roads meet, temples of Nāgas, Bhūtas, and Yakṣas . . . ."

(p. 758) *bhīyā sañjāyabhayā aṇṇam-aṇṇa-kāyaṃ sama-*  
*turaṅgemāṇā bahuṇaṃ indāṇi ya khandāṇi ya rudda-siva-*  
*vesamaṇa-nāgāṇaṃ bhūyāṇa ya jakkhāṇa ya ajja-kottakiri-*  
*yāṇa ya bahūṇi uvāiya-saāi uvāimamaṇā citṭhanti* [Some merchants, when threatened by an evil spirit, *mahāpiśāca*, while travelling on a ship in the midst of the sea, become anxious, and] "Feeling fear and apprehension, and embracing each other (for support) are offering many offerings to many Indras, Skandas, Rudras, Śivas, Vaiśravaṇas, Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Āryās and Kottakriyās." <sup>4</sup>

(p. 212, 213) *uggā uggaṇṇaṇṇa bhogaṇṇa bhogaṇṇa cvaṇṇa*  
*rāiṇṇa khattiyā māhaṇaṇṇa bhaḍḍa joha . . . . ṇhāyā . . . .*  
*sirasā kaṇṇhe mālakaḍḍa āvuddha-maṇi-suvaṇṇa kappiya-*

<sup>3</sup> Wherewith, explains the commentator Abhayacandra, the charges for renovating the temple, etc., may be met.

<sup>4</sup> The commentator explains *āryāḥ* as *praśānta-rūpā durgāḥ* and *kottakriyāḥ* as *saiva mahiṣārūḍha-rūpā*, that is, perhaps, fierce in aspect.

*hāraddhahāra-tisaraya-palamba-palambamāṇa-kaṭṭisuttayā sukaya-sobhābharaṇā vattha-pavara-pahiriya-candanavalittagāya-sarirā appagaiyā hayagayā evaṃ gaya-raha-sibiya-sandamāṇi-gayā . . . . Rāyagiha-ṇagarassa majjhaṃ egadisim egāhimukhā ṇigacchanti* <sup>5</sup> . . . . *kiṇṇaṃ bho devā-nuppiyā ajja Rāyagihe ṇayare indamahe vā khandamahe vā evaṃ rudda-siva-vesamaṇa-ṇāga-jakkha-bhūya-ṇadī-taḷāya-rukka-ceiya-pavvaya-ujjāṇa-giri-jattāi vā jaṇṇaṃ ugga bhoga jāva egadisim egābhimukhā ṇigacchanti.*

[Prince Megha sees one day] “ Ugras, ugraputras, bhogas, bhogaputras, and likewise, persons born in royal families, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, king’s servants, warriors, . . . . who had bathed, . . . . who were wearing garlands on their heads and necks and ornaments of gold and jewels, who were decked with *hāras*, *ardkahāras*, *trisarakas*, *pralambas* and *kaṭṭisūtras*,<sup>6</sup> and ot<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> well-made brilliant ornaments, who were wearing <sup>2</sup> fine clothes and had their bodies anointed with <sup>3</sup> *saṇḍal*, some mounted on horses, some on elephants, chariots and palanquins, moving in Rājagṛha in one direction, to one goal, and calling one of his entourage, inquires ‘ What, O beloved of the gods, is there to-day in Rājagṛha a festival (*utsava*) in honour of Indra or Skanda or Śiva, Rudra, Vaiśravaṇa, or a nāga, yakṣa or bhūta or a *yātrā* to a river or pond or tree, temple, mountain, garden or hill, that the ugras, bhogas, etc., are going out in one direction, to one goal? ’ ”

The temples of Yakṣas were known as *yakṣāyatana* (cp. Jñātā., p. 528, *surappiye nāmaṃ jakkhāyatane*), *yakṣadevakula* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 409, *jakkhadenuḷāṇi ya*),

<sup>5</sup> This *varṇaka* is not given in the text ; the commentator has, however, extracted it from one of the preceding five Aṅgasūtras and reproduced it in his commentary (p. 208f. of the edition).

<sup>6</sup> These are different kinds of necklaces worn round the neck. A *trisaraka* is a necklace that has three strings.

*yakṣagr̥ha* or *yakṣabhavana* (cp. Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra, comm. on p. 162, *Rājagr̥he Vīraprabhodyāne Maṇināyakaśya yakṣabhavane uttīrṇaḥ*), *yakṣaprāsāda* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 347, *Maṇḍika-yakṣa-prāsāda*) or *yakṣa* simply (compare Jñātā., p. 417, *ṇāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya*, 'temples of *nāgas*, *bhūtas*, and *yakṣas*'; Vipākasūtra, p. 176, *Bhaṇḍīre uyyāne Sudarisaṇe jakkhe* 'Bhaṇḍīra park; the *yakṣa*-temple named Sudarisaṇa'; *ibid.*, p. 213, *Soriya-jakkho*, 'the *yakṣa*-temple known as Soriya'); and those of *bhūtas* were known as *bhūtagr̥ha* (cp. Jñātā., p. 409, *bhūyagharāṇi ya*) or simply *bhūta* (cp. Jñātā., p. 417, *ṇāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya* cited above). The generic term *cāitya* was used to denote either class of temples—those of *yakṣas* or of *bhūtas*: compare Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra, p. 162, *Antarañjikāpurīyāṃ bhūtagr̥haṃ cāityaṃ*; *yakkha-cetiyaṇi* in Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* on *Mahāparinibbāna*, *Itta*, 1. 4; and Abhayacandra's explanation of *cāitya* as *vyantarāyatanaṃ* in his commentary on the Jñātā., p. 7. These *cāityas* seem to have played a prominent part in the religious life of the city or town in which they were situated. In the Jaina-sūtras specially, one finds that whenever the name of a town or city is mentioned, the name of the *cāitya* situated in it is also almost invariably mentioned; see, for instance, Jñātā., p. 1509, 1515ff. and Vipākasūtra, pp. 241ff.<sup>7</sup> The Buddhist Pāli books too sometimes mention *cāityas* in connection with towns; e.g., the Suppatitṭha-cetiya in Rājagr̥ha is mentioned in the Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahāvagga, I, 22, 1; and the Cāpāla, Udena, Sattambaka, and Bahuputta *cetiya*s in Vesālī are mentioned in Digha., Mahāparinibbānasutta, 3. 1. So

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<sup>7</sup> The worship of *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* still forms part of Jain religious observances. Read in this connection the introduction to the second edition of the "Śravaṇa-Belgola Inscriptions" (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II) with its frequent allusions to *yakṣas*; see also Plate 17 therein.

also do some Buddhist votive inscriptions<sup>a</sup> at Bharaut, Nāsik and other places. They are occasionally mentioned in the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and other Brāhmanical books also; compare, for instance, the Rāmāyaṇa, 2, 56, 33 : *caityāny āyatanāni ca . . . sthāpāyāmāsa Rāghavaḥ*; 2, 71, 42 : *devāyatana-caityeṣu dīnāḥ pakṣi-mṛgās tathā*; 2, 3, 18 : *devāyatana-caityeṣu*; 2, 17, 16 : *caityamś cāyatanāni ca | pradakṣiṇam pariharan*; in Agnipurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Vratākhaṇḍa, ch. 21, p. 344) : *caityeṣu āyataneṣu ca | devānām caiva rathyaṣu*; in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 353) : *kūlāgāreṣu caityeṣu*; in the Mahābhārata, 2, 102, 33 : *devāyatanacaityeṣu prākārātṭālakeṣu ca*; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 208, *parvasu ca . . . caitya-pūjāḥ*

<sup>a</sup> Nos. 693, 699, 987, 988, 1058, 1059, etc., in Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X); see Index of Miscellaneous Terms given at the end, s. v. *chetiyaḥ* and following words. The words *chetiyaḥ* and *chaitya* are there explained by Lüders as 'Buddhist building.' Considering however that among the Buddhist inscriptions are two—Nos. 1143 and 871—that record the gift of a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī* (that is, of images of them) and one (No. 1206) that seems to record the gift of a *bhūtāyana* (for *bhūtapāṭa*? stone-slab with the image of a *bhūta* engraved on it), it seems more natural to give the word *caitya* its usual meaning and to understand in these inscriptions a reference to temples of *bhūtas* or *yakṣas*. It is true that such temples have nothing to do with Buddhism or with the life of Buddhists as we know of these from the books; but the gift of images of a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī* referred to above shows clearly that their worship must have been prevalent amongst Buddhists also at that time and this makes it probable that the word *caitya* retains its meaning of 'temple dedicated to *yakṣa* or *bhūta*' in Buddhist inscriptions (and in Buddhist books?) also. It may, in passing, be observed that the personal names also, contained in some of the inscriptions, as for instance, the names Nāga, Nāgadatta, Nāgadina, Nāgadeva, Nāgasrī, Nāgapālita; Yakhadina, Yakhadāsi, Yakhī, Yakhila; Bhuta, Bhutarakhita and Bhutapāla (see Index of Personal Names given at the end) bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, and *bhūtas* at that time,

*kārayet*; p. 243, *pratipannam caityasthāne rātrau . . . upahāram kārayet*; p. 56, *caitya-puṇyasthāna-vana-setu-bandhāḥ kāryāḥ*. In all these instances, the juxtaposition of the word *devāyatana* shows that the word *caitya* means 'temple of *yakṣa* or *bhūta*' and the compound *devāyatana-caitya* means 'temples dedicated to gods and to evil spirits.' The presiding deity of the Daṇḍapāṇi temple in Benares, that pious devotees visit every day, is also a *yakṣa*, as is related in ch. 32 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*.

The worship of *yakṣas* and *bhūtas* is referred to in the Bhagavad-gītā, where it is said in XVII, 4,<sup>9</sup> and IX, 25<sup>10</sup> that *sātvika* people worship gods (*deva*), *rājasa* people *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*, and *tāmasa* people, ghosts (*preta*) and hosts of *bhūtas*, and that the worshippers of *bhūtas* go to them while the worshippers of the Lord go to Him. *Yakṣas* and *bhūtas* are both objects of *tarpaṇa* (with water) in the daily *brahma-yajña* rite prescribed for the householder of the first three castes (cp. *Āś. GS.* 3, 4, 1). Similarly, the *bhūtayajña*, which consists in the offering of *bali* to *bhūtas*, (compare TA. 2, 10: *yad bhūtebhyo baliṃ harati tad bhūtayajñam*) is also daily prescribed for such householders (cp. *ibid.*, 3, 1). The *yakṣa-bali* rite<sup>11</sup> is referred to by Ujvaladatta in his scholium on the Uṇādisūtras, 4, 123, in the Jātaka Stories No. 347 and 455, while its wide prevalence is attested by the common saying *yakṣānurūpo baliḥ*: 'As is the *yakṣa*, so is the *bali*' (that is, the *bali* corresponds to the *yakṣa*; if the *yakṣa* is great, the *bali* offered will be considerable: if the *yakṣa* is negligible, the *bali* too is

<sup>9</sup> *yajante sāttvikā devān yakṣarakṣāṃsi rājasāḥ |  
pretān bhūtagaṇāṃś cānye yajante tāmasā janāḥ ||*

<sup>10</sup> *bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā yānti madyājīnopi mām |*

<sup>11</sup> It may be observed, that analogous to the *bhūtabali* and *yakṣabali* rites, the Gr̥hyasūtras speak of a *sarpabali* rite also where *bali* is offered to *sarpas* or snakes (*nāgas*); compare *Āśv. GS.* 2, 1 and Nṛsiṃha's *Prayogaṇḍīyāta* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.) pp. 434 ff.

negligible) cited by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Chān. Up. 6, 32 (see also Laukikanyāyāñjali, II, p. 64: *yādṛṣo yakṣas tādṛṣo baliḥ*). TA. 1, 31, 123 gives details of the Vaiśravaṇa-yajña ceremony in which *bali* is offered to Vaiśravaṇa (*i.e.* Kubera) who is the lord of Yakṣas, but who is, remarkably enough, referred to by the mantra *sarvabhūtādhipataye nama iti* (the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara explains *sarvabhūtānām* alternatively as *yakṣa-guhyakānām*) as the 'lord of all *bhūtas*.'

The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of every month is known as *bhūta-caturdaśī* and is held sacred to the *bhūtas*. On that day are performed *vratas* intended to win the favour of Śiva, lord of the *bhūtas*; see Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 50 ff. That day, however, is held consecrated to the Yakṣas also, and accordingly, on that day are performed the *vratas* in which worship is offered to Yakṣas (namely, the Kṣemavrata, p. 154), and to Vaiśravaṇa, lord of the Yakṣas (p. 155). The Saurapurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 156) prescribes the performance on that day of the Kṛṣṇacaturdaśī-vrata, in which the figure of a Yakṣa made of bdellium (*guggula*) should be burnt, and says that in consequence of this *vrata*, the performer goes to the world of the Pināka-bearer, that is, of Śiva, the lord of *bhūtas* (*kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśyām yakṣam guggulakam dahet | sa yāti paramam sthānam yatra devaḥ pinākadhṛk*).

It may further be mentioned that according to the Purāṇic mythology, Īśāna (or Rudra) the lord of *bhūtas*, and Kubera (or Vaiśravaṇa) the lord of Yakṣas, both dwell in the north in the Himālayas and are neighbours, and that the Jaina writers so closely associated *yakṣas* with *bhūtas* that in a story related in the Jñātādharma-kathā (Adhyayana 16, p. 1149) the wives of three Brāhmaṇa brothers are respectively named Nāgasiri, Bhūyasiri and Jakkhasiri.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Compare also *Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra*, p. 674: *nāgaheum vā bhūyaheum vā jakkhaheum vā* 'for the purpose of (worshipping) *nāgas*, *bhūtas* or *yakṣas*.'

The details given above show how close is the correspondence between the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* in post-Vedic literature. The correspondence is no less close in Vedic literature also, as can be seen from the comparison of some passages of the Brhad. Upaniṣad. In this Upaniṣad, the word *mahat* is found used as a qualifying epithet in five passages only; in one, it is an epithet of *karma* (1, 4, 15 : *mahat puṇyam karma karoti*), while in the other four, it is an epithet of Brahman described as *mahad bhūtam* in two passages (2, 4, 10 : *asya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ . . . .* ; 2, 4, 12 : *idaṁ mahad bhūtam anantam apāraṁ vijñānaghana eva*) and as *mahad yakṣam* in two other sentences occurring in 5, 4, 1 (*sa yo haitan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti* ; *evam etan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti*). In the same way, to the epithet *yakṣasya adhyakṣam* used of Agni Vāiśvānara in RV. 10, 88, 13 corresponds the epithet *bhūtasya adhyakṣāḥ* used in AV. 1, 31, 1 of the four *āśāpālāḥ* 'lords of the quarters' (of whom Agni is one); compare also *bhūtāsyā . . . . pātir ēka āsīt* in RV. 10, 121, 1. Similarly, Śat. Br. 11, 2, 3, 5 : *mahad dhaiva yakṣam bhavati* corresponds to Āśv. GS. 3, 9, 6 : (*snātako vai*) *mahad bhūtam bhavati*; and the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* are used parallelly in TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 : *tvayīdam antaḥ | viśvam yakṣam viśvam bhūtam viśvañ subhūtam*.

It follows then from all this, and especially from the correspondence of *mahad yakṣam* with *mahad bhūtam* in the Upaniṣad passages noted above, that the two words are convertible and that *yakṣa*=*bhūta*. And it is remarkable that Bhāskara-rāya, the famous and most learned Tāntrik writer of the Śākta school, has explained *yakṣam* in AV. 10, 2, 32, as *mahābhūtam*. It seems to have been felt by Roth too that *yakṣa* is equivalent to *bhūta*; for in the PW (s. v. *yakṣa*) he has correctly explained *yakṣa* in AV. 8, 9, 8; RV. 10, 88, 13 and



T.B. 3,11,1, as 'die Wesen' and the word *yakṣabhṛt* in RV. 1, 190, 4, as 'die Wesen tragend, erhaltend.' The commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara, too, has, on the other hand, as we have seen above, explained the word *bhūta* in T.A. 1, 31, 123 as *yakṣaguhyaka*.<sup>13</sup>

Now the chief meanings of *bhūta* are (a) being (concrete); such beings in the collective—all beings, the creation, world, universe; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; and (b) being (abstract), essence, substance, virtue, might, power, etc. The meanings 'essence, substance, might, power,' etc., are not given by the lexicographers; but, nevertheless, there can be no doubt that *bhūta* has these meanings quite regularly, for it is derived from the root *bhū*, which means not only 'to be' but also 'to be powerful, to prevail, to predominate, to be master of'; compare the meanings of the cognate words *bhāva* and *prabhāva* and of the allied word *sattva*, which is derived likewise from a root (*as*) meaning 'to be' and which is a synonym of *bhūta*. And these meanings of *bhūta* are enough, as I shall show now, to explain the sense of the majority of the passages in which the word *yakṣa* occurs. In all such passages, *yakṣa* can be paraphrased as *bhūta* or *sattva*.

Bṛhad. Up. 5, 4: *tad vai tad etad eva tad āsa satyam eva sa yo haitan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti jayatīmāñl lokān jita in nv asāv asad ya evam etan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti satyam hy eva brahma ||*

"That (namely, Brahman), verily, was this (universe); that verily was the Real. He who knows this great first-born being, Brahman, as the Real, conquers these worlds. How could he be conquered who knows that this great

<sup>13</sup> Compare also in this connection Hillebrandt, l. c., 21, n. 3: "Die Versuchung liegt nahe, es mit *bhūtām*, dem es in der Bedeutung nahe steht, wiederzugeben."

first-born being, Brahman, is verily the Real? For Brahman is verily the Real." The epithet 'first-born,' *prathamaja*, seems here to be used in the sense of 'first existing'; compare Bṛhad. Up. 1, 4, 10: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt*. Compare also TĀ. 10, 1, 4: *prajāpatiḥ prathamajā ṛtāsyātmānātmānam abhī sām babhūva*.

Kenopaniṣad, 3, 2: *tad dhaiṣām vijajñau tebhyo ha prādurbabhūva tan na vyajānanta kim idam yakṣam iti* ||

"It (Brahman) became aware of (this thought of) theirs; it manifested itself before them. They did not know (what it was, and thought within themselves) 'What is this being?' " Hillebrandt (l. c., p. 21) makes out that *yakṣa* refers here to the blade of straw (*trṇa*) that is mentioned later on. This is a mistake and the context shows clearly that *yakṣa* refers to the being that appeared before the gods.

Similarly, *yakṣa*=being, in the other passages of this khaṇḍa where this word recurs.

Jaim. Up. Br. 1, 20, 4 [JAOS. 16, 68]: *tasminn idam sarvām antaḥ | tad yad asminn idam sarvām antas tasmād antar-yakṣam | antar-yakṣam ha vai nāmaitat | tad antarikṣam iti parokṣam ācakṣate* ||

"All this is within it. Because all this is within it therefore is it [called] *antar-yakṣa*. *antar-yakṣa* verily is its name; it is called *antarikṣa* in occult way." *antar-yakṣa*=that which contains all this, that is, all this creation; and the context shows clearly that *yakṣa* here denotes the creation.

Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, 1, 1, 1: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt svayambhūv ekam eva tad aikṣata mahad vai yakṣam tad ekam evāsmi hantāham mad eva manmātraṁ dvitīyaṁ devaṁ nirmimā iti . . . tasya . . . lalāṭe sneho yad ārdryam ajāyata tenānandat tam abravīd mahad vai yakṣam suvedam avidāmahīti* ||<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> So corrected by Whitney in his Grammar, § 848, instead of the *avidāmāha iti* of the editions.

"At first, verily, the self-born Brahman existed alone. It considered 'Verily, I alone exist, the great being, That (that is, Brahman); well, I shall create from myself a second god like to me' . . . . At the moisture, wetness, that was produced on its forehead, it felt glad; It <sup>15</sup> said: 'We have verily easily got the great being.' " *mahad yakṣam*, the great being referred to here, is water, *āpaḥ*, which at first appears as *sneha ārdryam* on the forehead and then (see *khaṇḍa* 2) as *svedadhārāḥ*, 'streams of perspiration' in the pores of its skin, and is in *khaṇḍa* 3, expressly called by that name (*tā āpaḥ sṛṣṭvā anvaikṣata*). Regarding the creation of Water first by the Brahman, compare *Manu*, 1, 8: *apa eva sasarpjādau tāsū vīryam avāsrjat*; *Śākuntala*, 1, 1 which refers to Water as *yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā*; *Ait. Up.* 1, 1 f.: *sa ikṣata lokān nu srjā iti sa imān lokān asṛjatāmbho marīcīr maram āpaḥ*; *Śat. Br.* 6, 1, 3, 1: *prajāpatiḥ vā idam agra āsīd eka eva | so'kāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti so' śrāmyat sa tapo'tapyata tasmāc chrāntāt tepānād āpo'sṛjyanta*; compare also *Kāthopaniṣad*, 2, 1, 6: *yah pūrvam tapaso jātam adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata* which also says impliedly that *tapas* and *āpaḥ* were first-born beings.

TB. 3, 12, 3, 1: *prathamajām devām haviṣā vidhema  
svayambhū brāhma paramām tāpo yāt |  
sā evā putrāḥ sā pitā sā mātā  
tāpo ha yakṣām prathamām sām babhūva||*

"Let us worship with oblation the first-born god, namely, Tapas, the self-born Brahman, the highest. He alone is the son, he the father, he the mother. Tapas was born the first being." Compare *Kāthopaniṣad*, 2, 1, 6, cited above. It is said frequently in the *Upaniṣads* and elsewhere that Brahman, after the desire to create arose in it, performed *tapas*; and this has led to *tapas* being

<sup>15</sup> I read *tad abravīt* instead of *tam abravīt* as printed in the Calcutta edition.

regarded as the first thing created by Brahman. Compare Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse : *yoyam tapobhimānī devaḥ sa prathamajaḥ | tatthā copaniṣadi sṛṣṭi-prakarane prathamajatvam āmnāyate | sokāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti sa tapotapyata* ; compare also AV. 11, 8, 6 : *tápo ha jajñe kármaṇas tát té jyeṣṭhám úpāsata* 'Tapas was born from action ; that did they worship as the eldest.'

TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 : *tváyīdám antáḥ | víśvaṁ yakṣám víśvaṁ bhūtám víśvañ subhūtám.*

"Within thee is all being, all creation, all prosperity." This is a formula that is used twenty-four times (with variations in the number of the second personal pronoun when required by the context) in respect of the twenty-four bricks, *iṣṭakāḥ*, used in the *Nāciketa-cayana*. These bricks are identified with the earth, waters, sky, etc., and each of these is panegyrised as the container of the whole universe. The expressions *viśvaṁ yakṣam* and *viśvaṁ bhūtam* mean almost the same thing ; compare also TA. 10, 16, 1 : *viśvaṁ bhūtām bhuvanām citram*, which corresponds exactly to *viśvaṁ yakṣam viśvaṁ bhūtām víśvañ subhūtām* here.

AV. 8, 9, 8 : *yām pracyutām ánu yajñāḥ pracyávanta upatīṣṭhanta upatīṣṭhamānām | yásyā vraté prasavé yakṣám éjati sá virāḍ ṛṣayaḥ paramé vyòman ||*

"After whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and with whose approach they approach ; following whose ordinance and through whose impulse, the world moves,—she, O sages, is the Virāj in the highest heaven." This verse is the answer given by Kaśyapa to the inquiry made in the preceding verse by the six sages about the nature of Virāj who is said to be the father of Brahman. In contrast with *pracyutām* and *pracyávanta* in the first pāda, one expects *pratiṣṭhamānām* and *pratiṣṭhanta* in the second pāda ('after whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and when she is firmly established, are

firmly established') instead of *upatiṣṭhamānām* and *upatiṣṭhanta* that are found there. It is not therefore improbable that these latter words are here used in the sense of *pratiṣṭhamānām* and *pratiṣṭhanta*. Compare Praśnopaniṣad, 2, 4: *tasminn utkrāmaty athetare sarva evotkrāmante tasmimś ca pratiṣṭhamāne sarva eva pratiṣṭhante tad yathā makṣikā madhukara-rājānam utkrāmantaṁ sarva evotkrāmante tasmimś ca pratiṣṭhamāne sarva eva pratiṣṭhante* 'when it (*sc.* the *prāṇa*) departs, all the others depart, and when it stays fast, all others stay fast; just as, when the king-bee departs all the bees depart and when he stays fast, all stay fast.'

It will be seen that the second half-verse speaks of the whole universe being controlled by, and obeying the impulse of, the Virāj, while the first half-verse speaks, seemingly, of the sacrifices only, *yajñāḥ*, going when the Virāj goes and coming (or staying) when the Virāj comes (or stays). This is, to say the least, incongruous, and the more so as the sacrifices are not such important things as to deserve mention in this connection. One would rather expect in the first half-verse also mention to be made of the whole universe going and coming (or staying) according as the Virāj goes and comes (or stays); compare the word *sarve* in the Upaniṣad passage *sarva evotkrāmante . . . sarva eva pratiṣṭhante* cited above. I am therefore led to believe that the word *yajñāḥ* here in the first half-verse denotes 'universe,' that is, that it has the same meaning as the word *yakṣa* in the second half-verse. In other words, the view of the Indian commentators that sees in *yakṣa* a derivative from the root *yaj* seems to be justified by the parallelism here of the two words *yajña* and *yakṣa*.

AV. 8, 9, 25-26: *kó nú gauḥ ká ekaṣṣīḥ*  
*kím u dhāma kâ āśīṣaḥ |*  
*yakṣām prthivyām ekavṛṣṭ*  
*ekartúḥ katamó nú sáḥ ||25||*

*éko gaúr éka ekarṣīr*  
*ékaṁ dhāmaikadhāśīṣaḥ !*  
*yakṣūṁ pṛthivyām ekavṛt*  
*ekartūr nāti ricyate ||26||*

“ Who then is the bull, who the sole seer, what the abode and what the desires ? The being that on earth is one-fold,—who is he ? The bull is one, one the sole seer and one-grouped are the desires. The being that on earth is one-fold, he is not different.” M. Boyer, following Henry, has understood these verses as referring to the sun (*āditya*), that is, to the sun considered as the supreme Being. This is not incorrect ; but I believe that it is preferable to refer the verses, with Geldner, (*l.c.* p. 129) to Brahman itself, to the Virāj that is spoken of in the opening verses of this hymn. The Brahman is *ekarṣī*, the sole seer, because from it come forth as its breath, the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, etc. ; see Bṛhad. Up. 2, 4, 10 : *asya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgīrasa itihāsaḥ purāṇaṁ vidyā upaniṣadaḥ ślokāḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāny asyaivaitāni sarvāṇi niśvasitāni*. The Brahman is *ekavṛt*, one-fold, because it is one and changeless ; compare Bh. Gītā, 12, 3 : *sarvatragam acintyaṁ ca kūṭastham acalam dhruvam*<sup>16</sup> “ The imperishable Brahman that is all-pervading, unthinkable, unchanging, immutable, eternal ” ; it is the *dhāma* or abode (of all) ; compare *ibid.* 11, 38 : *vettāsi vedyam ca param ca dhāma* ‘ Thou art the knower, and the known ; (thou art) the supreme abode ’ ; *ibid.* 10, 12 : *param brahma param dhāma pavitraṁ paramaṁ bhavān* ‘ Thou art the supreme Brahman, the supreme abode, the highest purifier ’ ; Gaudapāda-kārikā, 4, 100 : *durdarśam atigam-*

<sup>16</sup> And also perhaps because in it all the gods and other things become one ; compare AV. 13, 4, 13 : *etē asmin devā ekavṛto bhavanti* “ In him all these gods become one ” said of the Supreme Being, called Savitṛ in this hymn.

*bhīram ajam sāmyaṁ viśāradam | buddhvā padam anānā-  
tvaṁ namaskurmo yathābalaṁ; and Maitryupaniṣad,  
6, 38: tataḥ śuddhaḥ sattvāntarastham acalam amṛtam  
acyutaṁ dhruvaṁ viṣṇu-saṁjñitaṁ sarvāparam dhāma  
satyakāma-sarvajñatvasamyuktaṁ . . . . paśyati. In  
the Brahman are all āśiṣaḥ or desires; compare Ch.  
Up. 8, 1, 5: etat satyaṁ brahmapuram asmin kāmāḥ  
samāhitāḥ 'In this citadel, namely Brahman (so  
Śaṅkara explains the word *brahmapuram*), are placed all  
desires'; Maitryupaniṣad, 6, 30: atra hi sarve kāmāḥ  
samāhitāḥ 'Here (in the Brahman) are all desires  
placed'; Ait. Up. 5, 2: saṅkalpaḥ kratur asuḥ kāmo vaśa  
iti sarvāṇy evaitāni prajñānasya nāmadheyāni bhavanti  
. . . . prajñānam brahma 'saṅkalpa, kratu, asu, kāma,  
vaśa—all these are names of only prajñāna . . . .  
prajñāna is Brahman.' The Brahman is ekartu, one-  
seasoned, because perhaps there is no succession of days  
and nights in Brahmaloḥka, or to the Brahman there is  
but only one long unending day, and hence only one  
'season'; compare Ch. Up. 8, 4, 1: naitaṁ setum  
ahorātre tarataḥ . . . . etaṁ setum tīrtvāpi naktam ahar  
evābhiniṣpadyate sakṛd-vibhāto hy evaiṣa brahmalokaḥ  
"This bridge is not crossed by day and night; having  
crossed this bridge, even night becomes day; in this  
Brahmaloka it is always day"; *ibid.*, 3, 11, 3: na ha vā  
asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā hāsmāi bhavati ya etāṁ  
evaṁ brahmopaniṣadam veda "To him who thus knows  
the Brahma-mystery, there is no sun-rise and no sun-set;  
it is day to him once for all." Compare also Gauḍapāda-  
kārikā, 3, 35: tad eva nirbhayaṁ brahma . . . . ajam  
anidram asvapnam . . . . sakṛdvibhātaṁ sarvajñam  
"That is the fearless Brahman . . . . unborn, sleepless,  
dreamless . . . . all-knowing, to which it is always day";  
and Muktikopaniṣad, 2, 73: sakṛd-vibhātaṁ tv ajam ekam  
akṣaram | alepakaṁ sarvagataṁ yad advayaṁ tad eva  
cāhaṁ sakalam vimukta om.*

M. Boyer, in the course of his explanation of these verses, says (p. 419) that, *a priori*, there is no reason to suppose that the five questions in v. 25 refer to the same person or thing, but that, as a matter of fact, the answers in v. 26 are capable of being referred to one deity, namely the sun. This is because he understands the last pāda of v. 26 to mean that 'the marvel (as already said above, *yakṣa*=merveille in M. Boyer's opinion) on the earth . . . is not surpassed by any.' It seems to me however that the words *nāti ricyate* should be understood, not as 'is not surpassed' but as 'does not remain over; is not different', and that therefore these words in v. 26 refer to the same subject, and that hence the questions in v. 25 too refer to the same subject.

*ekadhāśiṣaḥ* means literally, 'the desires become one (in that being)', that is, that all desires are found at once in that being; see above.

AV. 10, 2, 31-33: *aṣṭācakrā nāvadvārā*

*devānām pūr ayodhyā |*

*tāsyām hiraṇyāyaḥ kōśaḥ*

*svargó jyótiṣāvṛtaḥ ||31||*

*tāsmīn hiraṇyāye kōśe*

*tryāre triprātiṣṭhite |*

*tāsmīn yād yakṣām ātmanvāt*

*tād vai brahmanvīdo viduḥ ||32||*

*prabhrājamānām hāriṇīm*

*yāśasā saṁpārīvṛtām |*

*pūram hiraṇyāyīm brāhmā*

*viveśāparājitām ||33||*

"The fortress of the gods has eight wheels (*i.e.*, circumvallations) and nine doors and is inexpugnable; in it is a sheath of gold, heaven, enveloped in splendour; verily, the Brahma-knowers know the animate being that is in this sheath of gold which has three spokes and is thrice-supported. Into this resplendent, yellow, invincible fortress of gold, enveloped in glory, entered the Brahman."



The fortress of the gods is, as Sāyaṇa (on TA. 1, 27, 2-3) explains, the human body; the nine doors are the nine apertures of the body, namely, the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils (or according to others, the nose and the *brahma-randhra*), the mouth, the *upastha* and *pāyu*: and the eight wheels are the eight *dhātavaḥ* or 'elements' of the body—*tvac* (skin), *asṛj* (blood), *medas* (fat), *asthin* (bone), *majjan* (marrow), *śukra* (semen), *māmsa* (flesh), and *ojas*. The sheath of gold within it is the heart which is the abode of the *ātman*: compare TA. 10, 11, 2: *padmakosū-pratikāśaṁ hṛdūyaṁ cāpyadhō-mukham | údho niṣṭyā vitastyānte nābhyāṁ upari tiṣṭhati || jvālamālākulam bhāti viśvāsyāyatanām mahat . . . tāsmin sarvām prātiṣṭhitam . . . tāsya mādhye mahān agniḥ . . . tāsya mādhye vāhniśikhā . . . tāsyaḥ śikhāyā madhye parāmātmā vyavasthitaḥ | sá bráhmā sá hárīḥ séndraḥ sókṣaraḥ paramāḥ svarāt ||* "Like to a lotus-bud, the heart, facing downwards, is (situated) one span below the neck (that is, below the top of the windpipe), and above the navel. This great abode of all (of the world) is shining, being full of rings of flames . . . in it is established everything . . . in its midst is a great fire . . . in it is a flame . . . in the midst of this flame is established the supreme *ātman*; he is *Brahmā*, he *Hari* (*Viṣṇu*), he *Indra*, he the imperishable supreme lord." Compare also *Yogatattvopaniṣad*, 1, 9: *hṛdi sthāne sthitam padmam tac ca padmam adhomukham*; *Dhyāna-bindūpaniṣad*, 12: *ūrdhvanāḷam adhomukham | kadālī-puṣpasamkāśam sarvadevamayāmbujam*; *Ch. Up.* 8, 1, 1: *asmin brahmapure daharam puṇḍarikam veśma* "In this abode of Brahman (*i.e.*, the body) is a small lotus chamber."

The epithets *tryara* and *tripratiṣṭhita* are not very clear. In *Ch. Up.* 8, 1, 3<sup>17</sup> we read that the *ākāśa* of the heart contains everything, heaven, earth, *agni*, *vāyu*, etc.

<sup>17</sup> *cso 'ntar-hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | ubhe asmin dyāvāprthivī antar eva samāhite | ubhāv agniś ca vāyuś ca sūryācandramasāv ubhau ||*

The word *tryara* may therefore perhaps refer to the three worlds and all other similar triplicities as being contained in the heart ; compare Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 6 : *trayo lokās trayo vedās trayāḥ sandhyās trayāḥ surāḥ | trayagnayo guṇās trīṇi sthitāḥ sarve trayākṣare*. The *trayākṣara* or *praṇava* is thus said to contain within itself the three worlds, the three Vedas, the three *sandhyās*, etc. ; and as the heart is, like the *praṇava*, a seat, *adhiṣṭhāna*, of the Supreme, these triplicities may all be regarded as being contained in the heart and as forming the *arāḥ* or spokes thereof referred to by the epithet *tryara*.

The epithet *tripratiṣṭhita* refers perhaps to the three states of the heart spoken of in Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 1 : *akāre śocitaṁ padmam ukāreṇaiva bhidyate | makāre labhate nādam ardhamātrā tu niṣcalā* which seems to mean : "When *a* is pronounced, the lotus (of the heart) brightens (becomes ready to open?) ; it opens when *u* is pronounced ; and begins to hum when *ma* is pronounced ; it is immobile when the *ardhamātrā* is pronounced." Now *a*, *u*, and *ma* are said (in the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad, Gauḍapāda-kārikā, and elsewhere) to be the pādas or feet of the *praṇava* which thus rests or is supported on them. Similarly, the heart when it brightens, the heart when it opens, and the heart when it is humming, may be considered the feet or supports of the *praṇava* or Brahman.

The word *svarga* in the fourth pāda of v. 31 is usually interpreted as 'heavenly', *svargatulya*, etc. There is however no necessity for abandoning the usual meaning of the word, namely, 'heaven' ; for this word is often used to denote the supreme heaven or Brahmaloka where the Brahman dwells (compare Bṛhad. Up. 4, 4, 8 : *dhīrā apiyanti brahmavidāḥ svargaṁ lokam* and Śaṅkara's comment : *svargaloka-śabdāḥ triviṣṭapa-vācyāḥ api sann iha prakaraṇān mokṣābhidhāyakaḥ* ; Ch. 8, 3, 2-3 : *imāḥ*

*prajā ahar-ahar gacchantya etam brahmalokam na vindanti . . . tasmād dhṛdayam ahar-ahar vā evamvit svaragam lokam eti* and Śaṅkara's comment thereon). It is so used here also as is made quite clear by the reading of the parallel passage in TA. 1, 27, 3: *tasyāñ hiraṇmayah koṣaḥ | svargo loko jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ*.

With regard to the word *aṣṭācakrā*, it has been observed by M. Boyer (*l.c.* p. 436) that Sāyaṇa has explained the word *cakra* in it as *āvarana*, or circumvallation enclosing the body that is regarded as a fortress, in his commentary on TA. 1, 27, 3,<sup>18</sup> while in his commentary on AV. 11, 4, 22 he has explained the word as 'wheel' serving as the means for locomotion of the body that is here regarded as a chariot. This is because TA. 1, 27, 3 refers distinctly to a fort, *pūḥ*, while AV. 11, 4, 22 refers equally distinctly to a chariot (compare the words *ekanemi* 'having one rim' and *sahasrākṣara* which Sāyaṇa explains as 'having a thousand axles' used in it). The discrepancy therefore, if any, is to be attributed to the texts themselves and not to Sāyaṇa who had to explain them faithfully as they stood. But is there really a discrepancy here? I am disposed to think that there is none; the meanings 'circumvallation' and 'wheel' are not mutually exclusive, and in all probability they are both intended (see p. 21 above) by the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakrā* which would thus mean 'having eight circumvallations and eight wheels to move with' or 'having ramparts and moving.' In other words, the fort, *pūḥ*, spoken of in AV. 10, 2, 31, seems to be a mobile fort, *jaṅgamo durgaḥ* or *cariṣṇūḥ pūḥ*. Such a mobile fort is, besides the 'firm' forts, *dhṛdhāḥ puraḥ*, that are frequently mentioned, known to the RV which refers to one in 8, 1, 28: *tvām pūram cariṣṇvām vadhaiḥ śuṣṇāsyā sām piṇak* "Thou (O Indra), didst shatter with thy

<sup>18</sup> There is no commentary of Sāyaṇa on AV. 10, 2, 31-33 or in fact on any passage of the tenth *Kāṇḍa* of the AV.

weapons the mobile fort of Śuṣṇa." Such forts are occasionally mentioned in later books also; compare Bhāgavata, 10, 76, 6f.—

*devāsura-manuṣyāṇām gandharvoraga-rakṣasām |*  
*abhedyaṁ kāmagaṁ vavre sa yānaṁ Vṛṣṇi-bhīṣaṇam ||*  
*tatheti Giriśādiṣṭo Mayaḥ para-puraṁjayaḥ |*  
*puram nirmāya Sālvāya prādāt Saubham ayasmayam || ;*

Mahābhārata, 8, 25, 13f. [The three sons of Tārakāsura said to Mahādeva]:

*vastum icchāma nagaram kartum kāmagaṁ śubham |*  
*sarvakāma-saṁṛddhārtham avadhyam deva-dānavaiḥ ||13||*  
*yakṣa-rakṣoraga-gaṇair nānā-jātibhir eva ca |*  
*na kṛtyābhir na śastraiś ca na śāpair brahma-vedinām ||*  
*vadhyeta tripuram deva prayaccheḥ prapitāmaha ||14||*

. . . . .

*te tu labdha-varāḥ prītāḥ saṁpradhārya parasparam |*  
*puratraya-visṛṣṭyartham Mayam vavrur mahārathāḥ ||19||*  
*tato Mayaḥ svatapasā cakre dhīmān purāṇi ca |*  
*trīṇi kāñcanam ekam vai rauḍyaṁ kārṣṇāyasam tathā ||20||*

. . . . .

*ekaikam yojanaśatam viśṛṭam tūvad āyatam |*  
*dṛḍham cātṭālaka-yutam bṛhat-prākāra-toraṇam ||22||*

. . . . .

*prāsādair vividhaiś cāpi dvāraiś caivopaśobhitam ||23|| ;*

and *ibid.*, 3, 176, 1ff.:

*nivartamānena mayā mahad dṛṣṭam tatoparam |*  
*puram kāmagaṁ divyam pāvakārka-sama-prabham ||1||*  
*ratnadrumamayaiś citraiś bhāsvaraiś ca patatribhiḥ |*  
*paṇḍuramaiś kālakeyaiś ca nitya-hṛṣṭair adhiṣṭhitam ||2||*  
*gopurātṭālakopetaṁ catur-dvāram durāsadam |*  
*sarva-ratnamayam divyam adbhutopama-darśanam ||3||*

. . . . .

*durdharṣam amarair api |*  
*maharṣi-yakṣa-gandharva-pannagāsurarākṣasaiḥ ||10||*  
*sarvakāmaguṇopetaṁ vīta-śokam anāmayaṁ |*  
*brahmaṇo bhavanāc chreṣṭham . . . .*

From the descriptions given of the Tripura and of the *ṣura* of the Paulomas and Kālakeyas (this was named Hiraṇyapura), it will be seen that not only were these mobile forts, moving in the sky according to the desire of the kings dwelling in them, but they were also provided with high ramparts and gates and they were impregnable to the assaults of gods (*deva*), Dānavas, Yakṣas, etc. The fort named Hiraṇyapura was, in addition, 'as bright as Agni (fire) and Sūrya (sun)' and 'better than the abode of Brahman'; and these descriptions recall the expressions *devānām ayodhyā pūḥ*<sup>19</sup> (in v. 31), *aparājitā pūḥ* (in v. 33), *hiraṇyayaḥ*, *jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ*, *svargah*, *prabhrājamāna*, *yaśasā saṁparivṛta* in the above verses as also the expressions *aṣṭācakrā* and *navadvārā*. All these traits and especially the one about Hiraṇyapura being better than the abode of Brahman seem to me to point particularly to the description of the *brahmapura* and the *kośa* therein that is brilliant, *prabhrājamāna*, yellow, *hariṇī*, surrounded with glory, *yaśasā saṁparivṛta*, and golden, *hiraṇyayī*, that is contained in the above verses (AV. 10, 2, 31-33) and to be based thereon. In any case, they make it probable that the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakrā* signifies circumvallations and at the same time mobility also. Compare Kāthopaniṣad 1, 3, 3: *ātmānam rathinam viddhi śarīram ratham eva ca | buddhim tu sārathim viddhi manah pragraham eva ca*, and other similar passages which compare the body to a chariot.

This mode of interpretation which makes the verses refer to the human body does not find favour with M. Boyer, who has observed (*l.c.* p. 438) that the wording of verses 31 and 33 is such that they can not but both refer to the same thing. The expression *aparājitā pūḥ*

<sup>19</sup> This has been explained by Bhāskararāya, in the course of his commentary on the Lalitā-sahasranāma, s. v. *yonī-nīlayā* (in v. 217) as *devānām apy ayodhyā asādhyā durlabhā pūḥ nagarī . . . | īśvarāvāsarūpā Ayodhyā-nagarī tu martyānām ayodhyā | iyaṁ tu devānām apīty arthaḥ |*

in v. 33 therefore must denote the same thing as the expression *ayodhyā pūḥ* of v. 31 ; and though the epithets *aṣṭācakrā* and *navadvārā* may be said to be quite appropriate to the human body, it is hardly possible, he observes, to say the same of the epithets *prabhrājamānā*, *harinī*, *yaśasā samparivṛtā* and *hiraṇyayī* used in v. 33. M. Boyer therefore thinks that the verses refer to a celestial citadel of Brahman, and that the *kośa*, sheath, which is referred to as being within the citadel, is the sun. According to this interpretation, too, the citadel referred to is a mobile one provided with gates and *cakras* or means for locomotion (the numbers nine and eight, however, in the epithets *aṣṭācakrā* and *navadvārā* says M. Boyer, have no particular significance beyond that of multiplicity). The 'sheath' spoken of being the sun, the epithets *svarga* (which M. Boyer explains as 'celeste'), *jyotiṣā vṛta* and *hiraṇyaya* are quite in place ; the epithets *tryara* and *tripraṭiṣṭhita* refer to the three worlds as being contained in the sun and as being the support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the sun.

This interpretation of M. Boyer or one very like it, is, for a reason that will presently be mentioned, quite possible. The objection however that he has raised against referring the verses to the human body can, it seems to me, be easily met. The 'fortress that is impregnable to the assaults of the gods even,' *devānām ayodhyā pūḥ*, mentioned in v. 31 as having eight circumvallations and nine gates is not the same as the *aparājitā pūḥ* mentioned in v. 33. The fortress spoken of in the former verse is the body that is elsewhere also referred to as *pūḥ* or *pura* (compare Bh. Gītā, 5, 13: *navadvāre pure dehī naiva kurvan na kārayan*; Śvet. Up. 3, 18: *purah puruṣa āviśad iti | sa vā ayam puruṣaḥ sarvāsu pūrṣu puriṣayaḥ*; TA. 10, 10, 3; *yat puṇḍarikam puramadhyasāṁstham*; Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1 *yad idam asmin brahmapure daharam puṇḍarikam veśma*, etc.), while the fortress mentioned in v. 33 is the heart that is also some-

times referred to as *pura* or *brahmapura*, compare Muṇḍakopaniṣad, 2, 2, 7 : *divye brahmapure hy eṣa vyomny ātmā pratiṣṭhitah* (Roth in the PW. s. v. explains *brahmapura* as 'heart') ; Ātmabodhopaniṣad, 1 : *yad idam brahmapuram puṇḍarikam tasmāt tadid-ābha-mātram* ; Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, 5 : *tad idam puram puṇḍarikam*. This is shown by the epithet *hiraṇyaya* that is common to the *kośa* of vv. 31, 32 and the *pūh* of v. 33, as also by the parallelism of the expression *jyotiṣā vrta* in v. 31 with *yaśasā samparivṛta* in v. 33. Now this heart has been described, in T. A. 10, 11, 2 cited above as 'shining' and 'full of rings of flames.' It is described as *hiraṇyaya* 'golden' in Muṇḍakopaniṣad 2, 2, 8. The epithets *prabhrājamāna*, *harita*, *yaśasā samparivṛta*, and *hiraṇyaya* of v. 33 can all be therefore appropriately used of the heart, and the incongruity pointed out by M. Boyer does not in fact exist.

These verses, as also the corresponding ones in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (1, 27, 3) are explained by the writers on Sākta Tantrism—*e.g.*, by Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on v. 11 of the *Saundaryalaharī* or *Ānandalaharī*, by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the *Latitāsahasranāma* and also in his commentary, named *Setubandha*, on the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* of *Nityāṣoḍa-śikāṇava*—as referring to the Śrī-cakra. As the Śrī-cakra is, as is well-known, a symbol of the human body (see on this point the *Bhāvanopaniṣad*, *Tantrarāja-tantra* edited by A. Avalon and the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* mentioned above), such interpretation is not so far-fetched as it may at first sight seem to be ; and what is more, it has also to be admitted that the Tāntrik interpretation brings out the meaning of the various epithets more strongly and clearly than the usual interpretation does. I reproduce <sup>20</sup> here as a specimen that given in the *Setubandha* (p. 189) where, as I have already observed,

<sup>20</sup> Correcting the mistakes that are found in the verses quoted in the edition.

Bhāskararāya explains the term *yakṣam* as *mahābhūtam pūjanīyam*: *tathā cātharvaṇāḥ Śaunaka-śākhīyā āmananti | aṣṭācakrā navadvārā devānām pūr ayodhyā | tasyām hiraṇyayaḥ koṣaḥ svargo jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ | tasmin hiraṇyaye koṣe tryare tripratiṣṭhite | tasmin yad yakṣam ātmanvat tad vai brahma | taittirīya-śākhāyām prathamāntam iti viśeṣaḥ | trailokyamohanādi-sarvasiddhipradānta-cakrāṣṭakayuktam nava-yoni-ghaṭitam anyeṣām asādhyām devatāvāsabhūtam Śrī-cakra-nagaram yat tatrāpy uttamaḥ koṣo jyotirmayaḥ svarga-tulyas trikoṇa-nāmakō 'sti | tasmin koṇe tridhā pratiṣṭhitam tri-samaṣṭi-svarūpam bindu-cakram asti | tasmin bindu-cakre svātmanīva yad yakṣam mahābhūtam pūjanīyam tad brahmaiveti vāsanām ajñā (sic) jñānti.*

Substantially the same explanation<sup>21</sup> of these two verses is given by him in his *Lalitāsahasranāmabhāṣya* (p. 179 of the Nirṇayasāgara ed.); but *yakṣa* is here explained as *pūjyam* only.

I have said above that the explanation of M. Boyer or one similar to it, which makes the verses refer to the sun as being the citadel in which Brahman dwells, is a quite possible one; and I have also said that the explanation of Bhāskararāya and other Tāntriks that makes them refer to the Śrī-cakra, is not a far-fetched one. I have further given an explanation of these verses above on the line followed by Sāyaṇa, which makes them refer to the human body. The reason why so many explanations are possible of these verses is this: the verses refer to the *ātmanvad yakṣam* (= *ātmanvad bhūtam* or *bhūtātman*) or the soul, dwelling in a *koṣa*. Now the soul in the body is identical with the *puruṣa* in the sun according to the

<sup>21</sup> To understand these explanations of Bhāskararāya, it is necessary to have a correct notion of how the *Śrī-cakra* is written, of its divisions and of its worship. These can be learnt from the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* and the *Tantrarāja-tantra* in detail, and then it will become evident that the Tāntrik explanation of the various epithets found in these verses is superior to that of Sāyaṇa and of others who proceed on the same lines.



teaching of the Upaniṣads; compare Taitt. Up. 3, 10, 4: *sa yaś cāyaṁ puruṣe | yaś cāsāv āditye | sa ekaḥ*; Maitryu-paniṣad, 7, 7: *yaś cāyaṁ hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa eṣa ekaḥ*; and this explains why the *kośa* mentioned in v. 32 can be understood as the human heart or as the sun. The Śrī-cakra, too, as I have said above, is a symbol of the human body, and therefore the Tāntrik explanation of the verses is, in essence, one that refers to such body. Similarly the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the sun being identical with Brahman (compare Ch. Up. 3, 19, 1: *ādityo brahmety ādeśaḥ* and TA. 2, 2, 2: *asāv ādityo brahma*) explains why some verses of the AV where the word *yakṣa* occurs have been referred to the sun by Henry and Boyer, and to Brahman by Geldner. In these verses *yakṣa* in effect refers to the Brahman, even where the interpretations do not contain that word at all, but refer instead to the sun or the soul.

AV. 10, 8, 43: *puṇḍārikāṁ nāvadvāraṁ  
tribhīr guṇēbhīr āvṛtam !  
tāsmīn yād yakṣām ātmanvāt  
tād vai brahmanvīdo viduḥ ||*

“The lotus that has nine doors and that is enveloped thrice,—verily the knowers of Brahman know the animate being in it.” The ‘lotus with nine doors’ is, like the sheath, *kośa*, in the ‘fortress with nine gates’ in the verse explained above, the heart in the human body. The ‘nine doors’ are those of the human body, and the ‘lotus’ can be said to have them in a figurative sense only. The ‘triple envelope’ seems, as suggested by M. Boyer, to consist of *satya* (truth), *yaśas* (glory) and *śrīḥ* (beauty) which are said in AV. 12, 5, 2: *satyénāvṛtā śriyā prāvṛtā yāśasā pārīvṛtā* to be the envelopes of the Brāhmaṇa’s cow, *brahmagavī*; compare the epithet *jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ* of the *kośa* mentioned in AV. 10, 2, 31 and the epithet *yaśasā samparīvṛta* used (in v. 33 of the same hymn) of the *aparājitā pūḥ* which, as I have said above, refers to the heart. Geldner explains the expression

*tribhir guṇebhir āvṛtam* as 'enveloped by the three *guṇas* (i.e., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*).'

AV. 10, 7, 38 : *mahād yakṣām bhūvanasya mādhye  
tāpasi krāntām salilāsya prṣṭhé |  
tāsmiñ chrayante yá u ké ca devā  
vrkṣāsya skāndhaḥ paríta iva śākhāḥ ||*

"The great being in the centre of the world has passed into *tapas* and into the back of the water; they that are gods (that is, all the gods) rest attached in it as the branches of a tree round the trunk." The hymn 10, 7 in which this verse occurs is addressed to Skambha which, according to the Cūlikopaniṣad (v. 11), is another name of Brahman. The 'great being in the centre of the world,' referred to here, is therefore the Brahman; and the word *krāntām* in the second pāda refers to the 'passing' or transformation of Brahman into *tapas* and water—an idea which we have met with above (p. 164), where it was said that *tapas* and water were first created by Brahman or were first born of Brahman. This verse, however, speaks instead of 'creation' or 'birth' (*utpatti* of the later Naiyāyikas; compare the preceding verse but one, *yāḥ śrāmāt tāpaso jātó lokān sārvaṇ samānaśé | tāsmāi jyeṣṭhāya bráhmaṇe nāmaḥ* referring apparently to water) from Brahman, of the 'passing' or transformation (*pariṇāma* of the Sāṅkhya system,) of Brahman into *tapas* and Water; and it is very remarkable that the *pariṇāma* doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas should be thus met with in the AV. With regard to the gods resting in the Brahman, compare RV. 1, 164, 39 : *ṛcó akṣāre paramé vyòman yásmin devā ádhi víṣve niṣedúḥ*; Kāthopaniṣad, 2, 1, 9 : *taṁ devāḥ sarve 'rpitāḥ*; Kauṣītaki Up. 2, 9 : *sa tad bhavati yatraite devāḥ*. The word *prṣṭhe* has no particular significance here; the expression *salilasya prṣṭhe* is simply equivalent to *salile*.

AV. 10, 8, 15 : *dūrē pūrṇéna vasati dūrā ūnéna hīyate |  
mahād yakṣām bhūvanasya mādhye  
tāsmāi balīm rāṣṭrabhīto bharanti ||*

“ It lives far from the full ; it is abandoned in the distance by the not-full. The great being in the centre of the universe—to it bring tribute the rulers of kingdoms.” The great being at the centre of the universe is of course the Brahman that is far removed from the full and the not-full, from the big and the not-big, from the small and the not-small, etc.; compare the passage *nyūnam anyat sthānam saṃpūrṇam anyat* (the author of the *Ratnaprabhā* calls this a *śruti*) cited by Śaṅkara in the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* in the course of his introduction to the *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa* along with *Bṛhad. Up.*, 3, 8, 8 : *asthūlam ananyv ahrasvam adīrgham* “ It is not big, not small, not short, not long.” *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* means, not feudatories (as M. Boyer understands), but those who rule kingdoms, or kings, that is, as Geldner has pointed out, the gods, the chief gods ; compare *AV.* 13, 1, 35 : *yé devā rāṣṭrabhṛto 'bhūto yānti sūryam* “ The kingdom-ruling gods who go round the sun ” ; and *ibid.* 10, 7, 39 | *yaśmai hūstābhyām pādābhyām vācā śrótrena cakṣuṣā* : *yāsmāi devāḥ sādā balim prayācchanti* “ To which the gods always render tribute with the two hands, with the two feet, with speech, hearing and with sight.” These passages make it probable that the ‘ gods ’ spoken of here are the same as those mentioned in the *Praśnopaniṣad*, 2, 1—2 : *bhagavan katy eva devāḥ prajāṃ vidhārayante katarā etat prakāśayante kaḥ punar eṣāṃ varīṣṭha iti . . . ākāśo ha vā eṣa devo vāyur agnir āpaḥ pṛthivī vān manaś cakṣuḥ śrotram ca* “ How many gods, O venerable, uphold the creature (*i.e.*, the body)? Which of them illumine it? And which again of them is the greatest? These gods verily are Ākāśa, Vāyu, Agni, Water, Earth, Speech, Mind, Eye and Ear”, that is to say, the *prāṇas*. Compare the story related in *Bṛhad. Up.* 6, 1 about the dispute that arose amongst the *prāṇas* as to who was the best and how the *mukhya-prāṇa* in whose favour the dispute was settled, made the others pay tribute to itself (6, 1, 13 : *tasyo me balim kuruteti tatheti*): compare also

Kauṣītaki Up. 2, 1 : *tasmai vā etasmai prāṇāya brahmaṇa etāḥ sarvā devatā ayācamānāya baliṃ haranti* and Praśnopaniṣad, 2, 7.

VS. 34, 2 : *yēna kármāṇy apáso manīṣiṇo  
yajñē kṛṇvānti vidáttheṣu dhīrāḥ |  
yád apūrvām yakṣám antāḥ prajānām  
tān me mánāḥ śivásamkalpam astu ||*

“May the *manas* (mind), that is in men, by means of which the wise ones, clever and intelligent, perform the rites in the sacrifice, in the religious ceremonies—may the *manas* that is in me, be auspiciously inclined.” This mantra is the second of the six śivasamkalpa-mantras that are found in the beginning of ch. 34 of the VS. The epithets applied to *manas* in these verses show that the *manas* spoken of is not the mind in men, but the ego or soul or Brahman; compare for instance, the epithet *jyótiṣām jōytiḥ* in v. 1, *hṛt-prátiṣṭham* in v. 6, and the description *yát prajānām utá ceto dhṛtiś ca yáj jyótir antár amṛtam prajāsu* in v. 3, and *yásminn ŋcaḥ sāmā yájūṅṣi yásmiṇ prátiṣṭhitā rathanābhāv ivārāḥ | yásmiṅs cittaṃ sárvam ótam prajānām* in v. 5. Hence the description of this *manas* in this verse as *apūrvām yakṣam* which means not only ‘wonderful being,’ as interpreted above, but also ‘the being before which none existed; first-born being’; compare Bṛhad. Up. 2, 5, 19 : *tad tad brahmāpūrvam anaparam anantaram abāhyam*. Compare also Ait. Ār., 5, 1, 1 : *mana ivāpūrvam vāyur iva ślokaabhūr bhūyāsam* “May I be ever new like *manas* (mind) the origin of *śloka* (sound; fame; Sāyaṇa, however, explains as *saṅgha*) like Vāyu,” and Sāyaṇa’s comment thereon : *uttarottaram abhivṛddhikāṅkṣayā prayatamānam sat tat-tat-phala-prāptyā nūtanam rūpam pratipadyate*.

RV. 1, 190, 4 : *asyú ślóko divīyate pṛthivyām  
átyo ná yaṁsad yakṣabhīd vicetāḥ |  
mṛgāṇām ná hetāyo yānti cemā  
bṛhaspāter āhimāyāñ abhī dyūn ||*

" His voice rushes in heaven and in earth. He, the supporter of the universe, the wise, raised (his shouts or chants) as a horse (does his neigh). These chants of Bṛhaspati go forth, like missiles on beasts, on the enemies who are as crafty as Ahi." *yakṣabhṛt* = the supporter of the universe, as Roth has correctly explained. It is the equivalent of the word *bhūtabhṛt* which is also used in the same sense; compare Bh. Gītā, 9, 5: *bhūtabhṛn na ca bhūtastho mamātmā bhūtabhāvanah*, 'supporting the universe but not in it'; and Mahābhārata, 13, 254, 16 (*Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*): *bhūtakṛd bhūtabhṛd bhāvah*. I follow Geldner in supplying *ślokaṁ* in the second pāda as object of the verb *yañsat*, and in understanding *abhi dyūn* (ought we not rather to read *abhidīyūn* as one word?) as 'attackers' or 'enemies'. After *imāḥ* in the third pāda, we have to understand *vācaḥ*, *giraḥ* or other similar word meaning 'words; chants', which Bṛhaspati as *purohita* makes use of on behalf of his patron (see Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 137). These rush on the enemies and destroy them, as the arrows of a hunter speed towards the beasts and destroy them; compare p. 141 f. above and the Raghuvamśa verse (1, 61) cited there, addressed by King Dilīpa to his purohita: *tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśamitāribhiḥ | pratyādiśyanta iva me dṛṣṭa-lakṣya-bhidaḥ śarāḥ* "My arrows that are able to pierce such objects only as are visible to me are made to recede to the background by the mantras (spells) that have been employed by you, the mantra-maker, and that kill enemies from a far distance." Note here too the comparison of the purohita's spells with arrows shot at some object.

RV. 10, 88, 13: *vaiśvānarām kavāyo yajñīyāso*  
*'gnīm devā ajanayann ajuryām |*  
*nākṣatram pratnām āminac cariṣṇū*  
*yakṣasyādhyakṣam taviṣām brhāntam ||*

" The worshipful wise ones, the gods, engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, the imperishable, the ancient, mobile luminary (star), the supervisor of the universe, the

mighty, the great." *yakṣasya adhyakṣam* or 'supervisor of the universe' is equivalent to 'lord of the universe'; compare 1, 98, 1 : *vaiśvānarāśya sumataú syāma rājā líkam bhúvanānām abhiśrīḥ | itó jātó víśvam idám ví caṣṭe vaiśvānaró yatate sūryeṇa* "May we dwell in the favour of Vaiśvānara; he is the king and the ornament of the world. Born from here, Vaiśvānara beholds this world; he competes with the sun." Vaiśvānara is thus, in this latter verse, a being different from the sun, while in the former (10, 88, 13) the words *nákṣatram áminac carīṣṇú* seem to indicate that Vaiśvānara is identical with the sun.

Śat. Br. 11, 4, 3, 5 : *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe |  
sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe  
veda mahad dhaiva yakṣam bhavati ||*

"These two (sc. *nāma* and *rūpa*; name and form) are the two great beings (that is, forms, *ex*-istences) of Brahman. He who knows these two great beings (that is, forms, *ex*-istences) of Brahman, becomes himself a great being."

Kauśika-sūtra, 95, 1 : *atha yatraitāni yakṣāṇi drśyante  
tad yathaitan markṭaḥ śvāpado  
vāyasaḥ puruṣarūpam iti tad  
evam āśaṅkyam eva bhavati ||*

"When these evil beings are seen, as for instance, an evil being having the form of a monkey, or of a beast of prey, or of a crow, or of man, then the same apprehension is to be felt." The word *yakṣa* here denotes 'evil being', and as monkeys, and crows can not, by themselves, be said to be evil beings, it follows that the words *markṭaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* denote evil beings having that form; compare RV. 7, 104, 18 : *rakṣāsaḥ sām pinaṣṭana | váyo yé bhūtvi patáyanti naktábhīḥ* "Crush the demons who fly about at nights after having become (*i.e.*, in the form of) birds." In other words, the word *rūpam* that forms the last element of the compound *puruṣarūpam*,

connects itself with each of the foregoing words *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* forming the compounds *markaṭa-rūpam*, *śvāpadarūpam* and *vāyasarūpam* (which together with *puruṣarūpam* are in apposition with, and qualify, the word *yakṣāṇi*). Now according to later grammatical usage the words *markaṭa*, *śvāpada*, *vāyasa* and *puruṣa* should be all joined together in a dvandva-compound and such compound be further joined with *rūpa*, forming a ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa, in order that the word *rūpa* may be connected with all these words—*dvandvānte śrūyamāṇam padam pratyekam abhisambadhyate*. It is interesting to note that here *rūpa* connects itself with the words *markaṭa*, etc., though there is no *dvandva* or other compound, and the words stand singly in the nominative case. A similar usage is observable in the following mantra also that comes immediately after the above sentence: *yan markaṭaḥ śvāpado vāyaso yadīdam rāṣṭram jātavedaḥ patāti puruṣa-rakṣasam iṣiram yat patāti | dviṣantam ete anuyantu sarve parāṇco yantu nivartamānāḥ*. Here too the word *rakṣasam* that stands at the end of the compound *puruṣa-rakṣasam* has to be construed with *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* also used in the first pāda.

Instead of *puruṣarūpam* (*yakṣam*), the word *puruṣa-rakṣasam* is used in this latter mantra indicating that *puruṣarūpam yakṣam* = *puruṣa-rakṣasam* or evil being in the form of man.

The word *yakṣa* is found in Kh. 93 also of the Kauśika-sūtra, where too, it has the meaning 'evil being.'

AV. 11, 2, 24: *túbhyam āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vāne hitā  
hamśāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunā vāyāmsi |  
tāva yakṣám paśupate aṣv āntās  
túbhyam kṣaranti divyā āpo vṛdhé ||*

"For thee are the beasts of the jungle, the animals placed in the forests, the swans, the kites, the birds great and small; thy might, O Paśupati, (is felt) in the waters; the divine waters flow for thy enhancement (that is, for

the enhancement of thy glory).” In other words, ‘the beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, and the rivers are subject to thy power and act as thou impellest them to act. Thy might is felt in the water, in the air, and on the earth.’ This praise is addressed to Paśupati or Rudra as the supreme god; and the ideas expressed here belong to the same class as those expressed in RV. 1, 101, 3: *yásya vraté váruṇo yásya sūryaḥ | yásyēndrasya sīndhavaḥ sáscati vratám* (‘in whose control is Varuṇa and the sun; whose, Indra’s, ordinance is followed by the rivers’); *ibid.* 2, 28, 4: *ṛtám sīndhavo váruṇasya yanti | ná śrāmyanti ná vi mucanty eté* (‘the rivers follow the ordinances of Varuṇa; they flow without tiring, without ceasing.’); AV. 13, 3, 2: *yásmād vātā ṛtuthā pávante yásmāt samudrá údhi víkṣaranti* (‘on account of whom the winds blow in season and the oceans flow’). Compare also Bṛhad. Up., 3, 7, 2 ff., *yaḥ pṛthivyām tiṣṭhan, pṛthivīm antaro yamayati . . yo ’psu tiṣṭhan . . apām antaro yamayati . . yaḥ sarveṣu bhūteṣu tiṣṭhan . . sarvāṇi bhūtāny antaro yamayati*: Kathopaniṣad, 2, 6, 3: *bhayād asyāgnis tapati bhayāt tapati sūryaḥ*.

RV. 5, 70, 4: *mā kāsyādbhutakratū  
yakṣām bhujemā tanūbbhiḥ |  
mā śéśasā mā tánasā ||*

“May we not, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa) who have wonderful strength, feel, either ourselves or in our offspring or in our posterity, the might of any one.” That is, ‘may we not feel the weight of the might of any one; may we not be oppressed by the thought that any one is more mighty than we ourselves and able to injure us.’ The expression *yakṣām bhujema* here is equivalent to the expression *dakṣām bhujema* in 4, 3, 13 which will be explained below.

RV. 7, 88, 6: *yá āpīr nītyo varuṇa priyāḥ sán  
tvām āgāmsi kṛṇávat sákhā te |  
mā ta énasvanto yakṣin bhujema  
yandhí śmā vípraḥ stuvaté várūtham ||*



“Who, O Varuṇa, being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil against thee—may not we who have sinned, feel, O mighty one, thy (might); do thou that art wise offer protection to thy praiser.” We have to understand the word *yakṣa* here in the third pāda as the object of the verb *bhujema*. The meaning is, ‘may we not suffer from thy might, that is, feel the weight of thy displeasure, on account of the sins that we have committed.’ The two ideas of *eno bhujema* (punishment for sins committed; compare 6, 51, 7; 7, 52, 2) and *yakṣam bhujema* (see 5, 70, 4 above) are combined here in this one pāda.

As I have already observed (see p. 18), the relative clause *yá āpír nityaḥ . . . tvām āgāmsi kṛṇāvat* qualifies *vayam* (understood) that is the subject of *bhujema* in the third pāda; as the plural *vayam* is only the *pluralis majesticus*, the use of the singular number in *yaḥ*, etc., in the first two pādas and in *stuvate* (fourth pāda) is not improper.

RV. 7, 61, 5: *āmūrā viśvā vṛṣaṇāv imā vām*  
*ná yāsu citrām dádyše ná yakṣām |*  
*drúhaḥ sacante ánṛtā jánānām*  
*ná vām niṇyāny acíte abhūvan ||*

“O ye wise and strong (*sc.* Mitra and Varuṇa), for you (are) all these (praises) in which is seen neither ornament (brilliance) nor substance. The Druhs follow the iniquities of men; secrets did not remain unknown to you.” The meaning of this verse is obscure. The author of the Padapāṭha reads the words *āmūrā* and *viśvā* as duals and apparently construes them with the dual *vṛṣaṇau* referring to Mitra and Varuṇa, a view that is accepted by Geldner, but from which M. Boyer dissents. I believe that the Padapāṭha is right in reading *āmūrā* (and referring it to Mitra and Varuṇa); at the same time, however, I believe that it is preferable to read *viśvāḥ* instead of *viśvā* (dual) and construe it with

*imāḥ*, after which, I follow Sāyaṇa in supplying the word *stutayaḥ* (*giraḥ*). The sense therefore of the first half-verse is, "These praises that we offer to you, O Mitra and Varuṇa are not polished and brilliant (do not contain *alaṅkāras*); nor is there substance in them, that is, there is no *artha-gāmbhīrya* or *bhāva-gāmbhīrya* in them; we pray that you will nevertheless take them to your heart and like them."

*citra* here does not signify *āścarya* as Sāyaṇa and, following him, Geldner, think, but rather 'ornament,' *alaṅkāra*; it has here the same sense as it has in books on rhetoric (*kāvya-ālaṅkāra-sāstra*) and means *artha-citra* (*arthālaṅkāra*) and *śabdacitra* (*śabdālaṅkāra*). It is an often-expressed sentiment of later books that a *kāvya*, *stuti* or other composition in words should, in order to be acceptable, contain *alaṅkāras* and yield a good meaning; compare, for instance, Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra, 5th edition, *Kāvya-praśamsā*, verses 17 and 21, in praise of *alaṅkāra* and vv. 22, 24 in praise of *artha*, and the expression *bhāvālaṅkaraṇocitāgamavatī* in v. 44; compare also v. 51 in *ibid.*, p. 35: *arthān kecid upāsate kṛpaṇavat kecit tv alaṅkurvate veśyāvat khalu dhātuvādina ivodbadhnanti kecid rasān | arthālaṅkṛti-sadrasa-dravamucām vācām praśastisprśām kartāraḥ kavayo bhavanti katicit puṇyair aganyair iha*. The first two pādas of the above mantra too, give expression, as I think, to an idea in the same sphere; in them the poet confesses that his praises cannot be said to be good, that they contain neither *alaṅkāra* nor *artha*. Contrast in this respect Kumārasaṁbhava, 2, 3: *atha sarvasya dhātāraṁ te sarve sarvatomukham | vāgīśaṁ vāgbhir arthyābhiḥ praṇipatyopatasthire*; Raghuvaṁśa, 4, 6: *stutyaṁ stutibhir arthyābhir upatasthe Sarasvatī*; Nīlakaṇṭhaviṇaya-campū, 4, 16: *iti stutibhir arthyābhir dhyāyato nīścalaṁ Śivam | aspandeṣv asya gātreṣu paśpande dakṣiṇo bhujah. arthyā vāk* means, as Mallinātha explains, *arthayuktā vāk*, speech or praise in which there is *artha* or *bhāva* or richness of content.

Compare further the opinion, cited and refuted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 14 ; Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1902): *sālaṅkārau śabdārthau kāvyam*. Hence the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa and Kādambarī have said of these works that they have been constructed of 'brilliant' words and thoughts ; see Rām., 1, 2, 42: *udāra-vṛttārtha-padair manoramais tad asya Rāmasya cakāra kīrtimān* . . . . *yaśaskaram kāvyam udāradhīr munih* ; and Kādambarī, v. 9 of introduction: *haranti kam nojjvala-dīpa-kopamair navaiḥ padārthair upapāditāḥ kathāḥ*.

For the second half-verse, I have, with much hesitation, given the explanation of M. Boyer as this seems to be better than that proposed by Sāyaṇa ; I feel however very doubtful whether either of these is the correct explanation.

RV. 4, 3, 13 : *mā kāsya yakṣām sādām id dhuró gā*  
*mā veśāsya praminatō māpēḥ |*  
*mā bhrātur agne ānṛjor ṛṇām ver*  
*mā sākhyur dākṣam ripór bhujema ||*

"Do not at any time go to the sacrifice of any enemy (literally, injurer) or harmful neighbour or comrade ; do not get into the debt, O Agni, of our crooked brother ; may we not suffer from the power of our friend (turned into) enemy." I have already said above (p. 165) that the view of the Indian commentators that *yakṣa* is derived from the root *yaj* is justified by the parallelism of the words *yakṣa* and *yajña* in AV. 8, 9, 8. Sāyaṇa is therefore right in explaining *yakṣa* here as *yajña*, sacrifice. The expression, 'do not get into the debt of our crooked brother,' in pāda c signifies the same as pāda a ; it means, 'do not go to the sacrifice of, and partake of the offerings given by, our deceitful brother' ; for the term 'debt' when used of a deity with reference to a human, means, as has been shown by Geldner, *l.c.*, pp. 133, 134, the debt that such deity owes to a human in return for the offerings that have been made and

accepted; compare also Bh. Gītā, 3, 11-12 in this connection. Similarly, the fourth pāda too, seems to refer indirectly to the same thing, to implore Agni not to attend the sacrifice of the friend who has turned inimical and make him rich and powerful in return. This verse therefore is one of the class that implore the deities not to favour by their presence the sacrifices of rival yajamānas; see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I, pp. 119 ff.; and Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* 1906, no. 10, p. 1049 ff.

RV. 7, 55, 16 : *ātyāso nā yé marútaḥ svāñco*  
*yakṣadṛṣo nā śubháyanta máryāḥ |*  
*té harmyeṣṭhāḥ śísavo nā śubhrā*  
*vatsāso nā prakriṣṇinaḥ payodhāḥ ||*

“They who are swift like coursers, the youths, (*sc.* Maruts) made themselves bright (that is, decked themselves with ornaments), like people that (go to) see sacrifices; they are radiant like children that are in mansions and frisky like calves that drink”. Sāyaṇa explains *yakṣa* here as *utsava*, festival. Now, *yakṣa*, as we know, means ‘sacrifice,’ ‘worship’; and many of the Soma-sacrifices were in fact grand festivals and are explicitly called or described by the name of *utsava* in the Purāṇas and Itihāsas.

Compare, for instance, the following passages :  
 Śrīmad-bhāgavata, 4, 3, 3 ff. :

*Bṛhaspatīsavaṁ nāma samārebhe kratūttamam ||3||*  
*tasmin brahmarṣayaḥ sarve devaṛṣi-pitr-devatāḥ |*  
*āsan kṛta-śvastyayanās tatpatnyaś ca sabhaṛṣṭkāḥ ||4||*  
*tad upaśrutya nabhasi khecarānām prajalpatām |*  
*Satī dākṣāyaṇī devī pitur yajña-mahotsavam ||5||*  
*vrajaṇtīḥ sarvato digbhya upadeva-varastriyaḥ |*  
*vimānayanāḥ sapreṣṭhā niṣka-kaṇṭhīḥ suvāsasaḥ ||6||*  
*dṛṣṭvā sva-nilayābhyāse lolākṣīṣ mṛṣṭa-kunḍalāḥ |*  
*patim Bhūtapatim devam autsukyād abhy-abhāṣata ||7||*

*Saty uvāca :*

*prajāpates te śvaśurasya sāmpratam  
niryāpito yajña-mahotsavaḥ kila ||8ab||  
paśya prayāntīr abhavānya-yoṣito  
'pyalanīkṛtāḥ kāntasakhā varūthaśaḥ ||12ab||*

“(Dakṣa) began the sacrifice known as *Bṛhaspatisava* to which went in well-being all the Brahmarṣis, the Devarṣis, pitṛs and devas, and also their wives with their husbands. Satīdevī, the daughter of Dakṣa, hearing of this from the chatter of those going in the sky, and seeing near her dwelling the wives of Upadevas (*i.e.*, of Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, etc.) going with their husbands in *vimānas* from all directions, wearing fine clothes and necklaces and brilliant ear-rings and with eyes glancing here and there, said to her lord Śiva in excitement: ‘The grand festival-like sacrifice of thy father-in-law, the Prajāpati, has, I hear, commenced . . . . See also other women going there in troops, wearing jewels, in the company of their husbands, O thou that art birth-less.’”

Mahābhārata, 2, 72, 1: *tataḥ sa Kururājasya  
sarva-karma-samṛddhimān |  
yajñāḥ prītikaro rājan  
sambabhau vipulotsavaḥ ||*

“Then was celebrated, O king, the sacrifice of the Kuruid king in which not one rite was wanting, the grand festival, causing delight.”

Ibid. 14, 90, 43 :

*evam babhūva yajñāḥ sa Dharmarājasya dhīmataḥ |  
tam mahotsava-samkāśam hr̥ṣṭa-puṣṭa-janākulam |  
kathayanti sma puruṣā nānā-deśa-nivāsinaḥ ||*

“Then took place that sacrifice of the wise Dharmarāja . . . . And this sacrifice that was like a great festival and was attended by many joyous and thriving people was extolled by people that lived in different countries (who were present at it).”

Read also the descriptions of the Rājasūya sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhira given in the Mahābhārata (2, 71) and Bhāgavata, 10, 75.

It is therefore not surprising if, in the circumstances, the word *yakṣa*, meaning 'sacrifice' took on the meaning of *utsava* also, though as regards this verse, it is not necessary to assume this latter meaning for *yakṣa*. The original meaning itself, namely, 'sacrifice,' fits in well with the context here. Compare the passage cited above from the Bhāgavata where it is said that the wives of Upadevas were going to the *yajña-mahotsava* wearing fine clothes and jewels in the company of their husbands, and the passage cited above (p.155) from the Jñātādharmakathā that describes the dress and jewels worn by ugras, ugraputras, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, etc., on days of Indramaha, Yakṣamaha and similar other utsavas. See also the description of the city and people on the occasion of *kaumudī-mahotsava* given in *Hemādri, l.c.*, p. 352 and in Jñātādharmakathā, p. 536. It becomes clear from all these that the people used to put on in former times (as in fact they do now) fine clothes and jewels when going to grand sacrifices or other utsavas; and the Maruts are compared with such people because they always deck themselves with ornaments; see 5, 54, 11; 5, 55, 6; 5, 60, 4, etc., and Macdonell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 79.

*śubhrāḥ*, radiant, in pāda 3, means, as is indicated by the context, 'clean, speckless, spotless'; and *payodhāḥ vatsāḥ* means 'young calves'.

Gobhila-gr̥hyasūtra, 3, 4, 28: *ācāryaṁ sapariṣatkam abhyetyācāryapariṣadam īkṣate yakṣam iva cakṣuṣaḥ priya vo bhūyāsam iti* ||

"Approaching the teacher with his entourage, he looks at the teacher and entourage (saying): 'May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice.'" I have here, like M. Boyer and Geldner, construed *cakṣuṣaḥ* with *priya*. Oldenberg has, however, contended (*RV. Noten*, II,

p. 45) that this is not right and that such construction would be proper only if the text had read *yakṣam iva cakṣuṣo vaḥ priyo bhūyāsam*. He therefore maintains that the correct meaning is, "May I be dear to you as the wonderful thing is to the eye" (as already noted above, *yakṣa* = 'wonderful thing' for Oldenberg) and that the 'wonderful thing' here is the pupil of the eye! But, apart from the consideration that one fails to understand why the pupil of the eye should be called a 'wonderful thing' (the passage from Śat. Br. to which Oldenberg refers has no bearing at all in this connection) the idea of comparing a thing to the pupil of the eye in respect of dearness is one that is foreign to Sanskrit literature.

As regards however the above-mentioned contention itself, it must be admitted that there is some force in it; but, as *yakṣa* does not mean 'pupil of the eye' but 'sacrifice' (or perhaps *utsava*) here, it makes in effect no difference whether *cakṣuṣaḥ* is construed with *priya* or not. In the first case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice". In the second case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to you as a sacrifice is pleasing to the eye"; and the expression 'may I be pleasing to you' here obviously means 'may I be pleasing to your eye.' In any case, therefore, the sense of the mantra is, "May I be dear to your eyes as a grand sacrifice; may you have as much pleasure in looking at me as people have in looking at a grand sacrifice or other similar utsava." Compare RV. 7, 84, 3: *kṛtām no yajñām vidátheṣu cārum kṛtām bráhmāṇi sūrīṣu praśastā* 'Make our sacrifice handsome (or beloved) amongst assemblies, make our hymns laudable amongst poets'; 10, 100, 6: *yajñás ca bhūd vidáthe cārur ántamaḥ* 'May the sacrifice be handsome (or dear) and most cherished in the assembly'; and the expression *cārum adhvaram* 1, 19, 1 and 5, 71, 1. See also Mahābhārata, 14, 90, 43 cited above from which we learn that the

people of all countries flocked to see the sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhira and 2, 72, 1 *ibid.* where the epithet *prītikara* is applied to the sacrifice.

Compare also *ibid.*, 2, 71, 44-45 :

*lokesmin sarva-viprāś ca vaiśyāḥ sūdrā nṛpādayaḥ !*  
*sarve mlecchāḥ sarvajanās tv ādi-madhyāntajās tathā ||44||*  
*nānādeśa-samudbhūtair nānājātibhir āgataiḥ |*  
*paryāpta iva lokoyaṁ Yudhiṣṭhira-niveśane ||45||*

“ All the Brāhmaṇas in this world and all Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, all Mlecchas, and all people of all castes, the highest, lowest and middle castes, (were there). From the people, born in different countries and of different castes, that were present there, it seemed as if the whole world was contained in the dwelling of Yudhiṣṭhira ” ; and *ibid.*, 2 71, 16 :

*Jambūdvīpo hi sakalo nānājanapadāyutaḥ |*  
*rājann adṛśyataikastho rājñas tasmīn mahākratau ||*

‘ The whole of Jambūdvīpa with all its different countries, O king, was seen assembled at one place in the grand sacrifice of that king.’ These grand sacrifices were thus so beloved that the people used to flock to them.

I take the word *ācārya-pariṣadam* as a *dvandva* compound meaning ‘ the teacher and his entourage.’

AV. 11, 6, 10 : *dīvaṁ brūmo nākṣatrāṇi*  
*bhūmim yakṣāṇi pārvatān |*  
*samudrāṁ nadyo veśantās*  
*té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||*

“ We praise the sky, the constellations of stars, the earth, the trees, and the mountains. The oceans, rivers and ponds—may they free us from evil.” The word *yakṣāṇi* here has been explained as Yakṣas (followers of Kubera) by Henry (*Les Livres X, XI et XII de l' Atharvaveda*, pp. 118 and 155), Bloomfield (*Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, p. 161), and Hillebrandt (*Garbe-festschrift*,



p. 22) and as 'Naturwunder und Naturschönheiten wie die grossen Bäume' by Geldner (*l.c.* p. 143). Geldner's explanation is almost correct, but the way by which he arrives at it is not, in my opinion, the proper way. *yakṣāṇi* signifies trees here not because *yakṣa* means 'Wunder,' *citra*, but because the trees are here regarded as the abode of Yakṣas or superhuman beings.

I have said above (p. 156) that the temples dedicated to Yakṣas had the name of *caitya* also. This name *caitya*, it may be remarked, is applied to trees also, to trees that are wellgrown and rich in foliage and are regarded as being the abodes of superhuman beings ; cp. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, 2, 4, 2: *caityo devatarur devāvāse karabha-kuñjarau* : *Mahābhārata*, 12, 68, 44f. *caityānām sarvathā tyājyam api patrasya pātanam* ||44|| *devānām āśrayās caityā yakṣa-rākṣasabhoginām | piśāca-pannagānām ca gandharvāpsarasām api | raudrāṇām caiva bhūtānām tasmāt tān parivarjayet* and also the *Mahābhārata* verse given in 1, 49, *Hiḍimbavadha* in Bopp's *Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel*. The name *caitya* thus is applied to a tree for the same reason that it is applied to a temple—namely, because the tree is, like the temple, the abode of a *yakṣa*, *bhūta* or other supernatural being and is thus holy and deserving of worship. The same is the case with the word *yakṣa* also; this name is applied to temples as also to trees, that are the abodes of *yakṣas*, *bhūtas* or similar superhuman beings and are thus holy and deserving of worship. I have cited above (p. 156) instances of the word *yakṣa* denoting temples; this verse offers an instance of the word *yakṣa* denoting trees.

This closes the list of passages where the word *yakṣa* (neuter) occurs. M. Boyer however is of opinion that this word *yakṣa* is found, further, (as a component of the word *yakṣya*) in *RV.* 8, 60, 3 also: *agne kavīr vedhā asi hōtā pāvaka yākṣyah | mandrō yājiṣṭho adhvarēṣu idyo viprebhiḥ sukra mānmabhiḥ* and has explained *yakṣya*

there as 'having a marvellous form.' As he has himself observed, however, (*l.c.*, p. 394) the expression *hótā pāvaka yákṣyaḥ* in 8, 60, 3 is parallel to *agnih pāvaka idyaḥ* in 3, 27, 4, to *śúciḥ pāvaká idyaḥ* in 7, 15, 10, and to *śúciḥ pāvaka vándyaḥ* in 2, 7, 4; and since the word *yakṣa* itself is, as has been shown above, derived from the root *yaj*, there is not the least doubt that *yakṣya* comes from *yaj* 'to worship.' I believe therefore that the verse means: "Thou, O Agni, art the wise one, the worshipper, and the adorable hotṛ, O purifier; thou art dear, the most capable in sacrificing, praised in sacrifices, O brilliant one, with hymns by priests."

The meanings of *yakṣa* therefore are: 1. worship, sacrifice (and perhaps *utsava*, festival). 2. (*a*) being (concrete), beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil beings, evil spirits; (*b*) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. The meanings enumerated under 2. are those of the word *bhūta* which is a synonym of *yakṣa* and of *sattva* which is a synonym of *bhūta*; they seem to be *rūḍhi* meanings, while those enumerated under 1 are clearly *yoga* meanings.

It becomes apparent from what has gone above that *yakṣa* masculine has the same relation to *yakṣa* neuter as *bhūta* masculine bears to *bhūta* neuter. *bhūta* neuter has a large number of meanings (see above; see also Apte, s.v., and PW) including those of 'being (concrete), a class of superhuman being; evil being'; while *bhūta* masculine has these meanings only and no other. Similarly *yakṣa* masculine too means the same, namely, 'being (concrete), superhuman being, evil being' while *yakṣa* neuter signifies these things, and also, many other things in addition. Similar too, it may be noted, is the relation of *sattva* masculine to *sattva* neuter; the masculine word signifies 'being (concrete), not-human being, (and not 'superhuman being' only; *sattva* is used

of animals), evil being' while the neuter word has these as well as other significations.

This explains the use of the word *yakṣa* masculine in Buddhist literature in contexts where the usual meaning of *guhyaka* or 'follower of Kubera' is inappropriate, and where therefore the translators have in some cases felt perplexed. Thus, in *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 2, 25 (and elsewhere too; see Index to the Transl. of *Sam. Nik.* in *SBE.*, vol. 10), Māra (who is not a *guhyaka* or follower of Kubera) is called a *yakkha*; in the *Milinda-pañha*, IV. 4. 32 (p. 202), the term *yakkha* is used in connection with Devadatta and the Bodhisatta who were at that time (see *Jātaka-story* No. 457; vol. IV, pp. 100 ff.) born as *devaputtas*. Similarly, in the translation of this book (*SBE.* vol. 35, p. 289, n. 2), Prof. Rhys Davids has observed that 'this is by no means the only instance of the term *yakkha* being used of gods.' In the same way, Prof. Kern has noted (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 59, n. 9) that the epithet *yakkha* is applied sometimes to Indra (e.g., in *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 251) and the Buddha (f. i. in *ibid.*, I, p. 386: *āhuneyyo yakkho uttamapuggalo atulo*) and that it is used of *devaputtas* in *Sam. Nik.*, I, p. 54.<sup>22</sup> The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* too is found used in *Sam. Nik.* III, 4, 25 and IV, 11, 14-15: *ettāvat' aggaṃ pi vadanti h' eke yakkhassa suddhiṃ idha paṇḍitāse* which Fausböll has translated (*SBE.*, vol. 10, p. 167) as: "Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the *yakkha*," without however saying anything as to what is intended by the 'purification of the *yakkha*.'

In the light of what has been said above about the meaning of the word *yakṣa*, it is easy to see that this word means 'evil being' when it refers to Māra. When

<sup>22</sup> Similarly Otto Franke in his translation of parts of the *Dīghanikāya*, has observed on p. 94, note 6, that the word *yakkha* is used occasionally to signify *devas* also.

used in connection with *devaputtas*, it means in all probability, 'superhuman being,' while when used of Indra and the Buddha, it is probable that it signifies, as has been suggested by Kern (*l.c.*), 'a being to be worshipped or a mighty being'—a meaning that combines in itself the two different significations of 'being (concrete)' and of 'worship' or 'might' (see p. 21 above). The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* which is equivalent to *bhūtasya suddhi* or *bhūta-suddhi* is somewhat ambiguous. In Tāntrik practice, the term *bhūtaśuddhi* signifies the cleansing or purification of the *bhūtas* or elements ('earth,' 'water,' 'fire,' etc.), that make up the body of the worshipper, and is one of the many preliminary acts that precede and lead up to the worship proper of the chief deity; see *Principles of Tantra* (II, pp. 365 ff.) by A. Avalon, pp. 41 ff., of *Mantramahārṇava*, ch. 8 of *Devī-bhāgavata*, etc.; compare also *Rāmatāpanyuṣaṇīśad*, 5, 1: *bhūtādikaṃ śodhayed dvārapūjāṃ ca kṛtvā padmādyāsanasthaḥ prasannaḥ* "(The worshipper) should cleanse the elements (of his body) etc., then after worshipping the gates, assuming the *padmāsana* or other posture, with calm mind . . . ." I feel however doubtful if it is this Tāntrik practice that is referred to by the *Sam. Nik.*, the more so, as this is a preliminary act to which not much importance is attached. And I am inclined to believe that the *bhūtaśuddhi* mentioned here refers perhaps to the cleansing or purification of the *bhūta*—being or self, through the eradication of what Apastamba calls *bhūtadāhīyā doṣāḥ* 'blemishes or vices that sear, that is, destroy, the being or self,' consisting of anger, elation, covetousness, etc.; see *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, 1, 23, 5. By the eradication of these through yoga, says Āpastamba, the wise man attains 'security (*abhaya*)'—an expression which is explained by Haradatta as *abhayaṃ mokṣam*, 'the liberation where there is no more fear'; compare *ibid.*, 1, 23, 3: *doṣāṇāṃ tu nirghāto yogamūla iha jīvite | nirhṛtya bhūtadāhīyān*

*kṣemaṁ gacchati paṇḍitaḥ* "In this life, the destruction of vices (is to be accomplished) by means of yoga; after getting rid of the vices that sear the being, that is, the self, the wise man attains security." Compare also *ibid.*, 1, 23, 6: *tāny anuṭiṣṭhan vidhinā sārva-gāmī bhavati* "He who practises these (*yogas* that eradicate the *bhūtadāhīya-doṣas*) according to rule, attains the All." A third interpretation also is possible of the term *yakkhasya suddhi*; *yakṣasuddhi* or *bhūtasuddhi* or 'the purification of the being (self)' may be understood as the purification of the being or *sattvasuddhi* that is spoken of in Ch. Up., 7, 26, 2: *āhāra-suddhau sattva-suddhiḥ sattva-suddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ | smṛtilambhe sarvagranthīnām vipramokṣaḥ | tasmai mṛditakaṣāyāya tamasaḥ pāraṁ darśayati bhagavān Sanatkumāraḥ* "When the food becomes pure, the being (*sattva*; according to Śāṅkara, this denotes *antaḥkaraṇa* here) becomes pure; when the being becomes pure, an unfailing memory (will be established); by the attainment of memory, all knots are severed; and to him whose impurity (*kaṣāya*) is (thus) overcome, Lord Sanatkumāra will show (the Brahman) beyond the darkness." As the *Sam. Nik.* says nothing more about *yakkhasya suddhi*, of the causes which lead up to it or of the effects which this leads to, it is not possible to determine which of these three ideas was intended by the author; perhaps, it is the second of those mentioned above.

## § 10

### ābhva

The word *yakṣá* leads us to the nearly-allied word *ābhva*, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given by the exegetists. This word is enumerated twice in the *Nighaṇṭu*, once amongst the *udaka-nāmāni* (1. 12) and once amongst the *mahan-nāmāni* (3. 3). These two

meanings *udaka* and *mahat*, however, are inadequate to explain the sense of many passages in which the word occurs; and hence Sāyaṇa has, in his *RV. Commentary*, been obliged to suggest other explanations for this word. He thus explains it as 'enemy' (*ābhavatīty abhvaḥ śatruḥ*) in 1, 39, 8, as 'speed' (*vega*) in 1, 24, 6, as 'cloud' (*megha*) in 1, 168, 9; and even when seemingly retaining the meaning *mahat*, he practically helps himself with new meanings when he explains *abhva* as *ati-vistr̥tam jagat* in 2, 33, 10, *mahad dhanam* in 5, 49, 5, *māhat karma* in 6, 4, 3, *mahat sarvaṁ vastu-jātam* in 6, 71, 5, and *mahato bhaya-hetoḥ pāpāt* in 1, 185, 2-8. Of the European exegetists, Roth explains the word as 'Uding; Ungeheur; Unheimlichkeit; ungeheure Macht, Grösse, u. s. w.; Schwüle'; and Grassmann repeats these explanations with the addition of two more, 'der Widerwärtige, das Ungethum; das grauenerregende Dunkel.' Bergaigne, in his article on this word in his *Etudes sur le lexique du RV*, comes to the conclusion that it means 'obscurity; evil in general; demoniacal might,' and in one passage (*Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 5) 'might' in general, while Geldner, in his article on this word in *Ved. St.*, vol. 3 (p. 117 f.), has followed the lead of Roth and set down 'Schrecknis, Graus, Schreckensgestalt, Schreckenserscheinung, Gespenst, Spuk, Popanz' as the meaning of this word. Substantially the same explanation is given of this word by him in his *Glossar* also.

How insufficient these meanings are to explain the sense of the passages in which the word *ābhva* occurs will become clear to every one who reads Geldner's interpretation of them in the course of his article mentioned above. And particularly, in one of these passages, namely, in *Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 3-5 :

*atha brahmaiva parārdham agacchat | tat parārdham gatvaikṣata katham nv imāñi lokān pratyaveyām iti | tad dvābhyām eva pratyavaid rūpeṇa caiva nāmnā ca | sa yasya kasya ca nāmāsti tan nāma yasyo api nāma nāsti*

*yad veda rūpeṇedaṁ rūpam iti tad rūpam | etāvad vā idaṁ  
yāvad rūpaṁ caiva nāma ca | te haite brahmaṇo mahatī  
abhve | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī abhve veda mahad  
dhaivābhvaṁ bhavati | te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe |  
sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva  
yakṣaṁ bhavati ||*

it is hard to believe, as Geldner would have us do, that *nāma* and *rūpa* are here to be understood as the two *ghore rūpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, and that he who thus knows *nāma* and *rūpa* as the two *ghore rūpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, becomes himself a *ghoraṁ rūpam* or *Popanz* or *Phantom*.

The clue to the real meaning of the word *abhva* is contained in the above-cited passage itself, in which the sentence *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī abhve | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī abhve veda mahad dhaivābhvaṁ bhavati* is closely parallel to the sentence following: *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva yakṣaṁ bhavati*. This parallelism indicates that the word *abhva* has the same value as the word *yakṣa*. Now in the article preceding on *yakṣa*, I have shown that this word has the value of *bhūta* and that it means (a) being (concrete); beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; (b) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. These are the meanings of *abhva* also, and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the passages where this word occurs. I begin with the above-cited passage Śata. Br. 11, 2, 3, 3-5, which I translate as—

“Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, ‘How can I descend again into these worlds?’ It then descended again by means of these two—Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is Name; and

that again which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'This is (its) form,' is Form: as far as there are Form and Name, so far, indeed, (extends) this universe. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex-istences*) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex-istences*) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being."

Śata. Br. 3, 2, 1, 25-28: *so 'yaṁ yajño vācam abhi-*  
*dadhyau mithunṇy etayā syām iti | tāṁ sambabhūva | indro*  
*ha vā ikṣāṁcakre | mahad vā ito 'bhvaṁ janiṣyate | yajña-*  
*sya ca mithunād vācaś ca | yaṁ mā tan mā 'bhibhaved iti sa*  
*indra eva garbho bhūtvaitan mithunam praviveśa | sa ha*  
*samvatsare jāyamāna ikṣāṁcakre | mahā-vīryā vā iyaṁ*  
*yonir yā mām adīdharata | yad vai meto mahad evābhvaṁ*  
*nānuprajāyeta yaṁ mā tan nābhibhaved iti | tāṁ prati-*  
*parāṁśyāveṣṭyācchinat ||*

"That Yajña (sacrifice) lusted after Vāc (speech) thinking, 'May I pair with her.' He united with her. Indra then thought within himself, 'Surely a great being will be born out of this union of Yajña and Vāc: [I must take care] lest it should vanquish me.' Indra himself then became an embryo and entered into that union. When being born after a year's time, he thought within himself, 'Verily, of great potency is this womb which has contained me: [I must take care] that no great being will be born from it after me, that it should not vanquish me.' Having seized and pressed it tightly, he cut it off."

RV. 1, 63, 1: *tvāṁ mahāñ indra yó ha śúṣmair*  
*dyāvā jajñānāḥ pṛthivī áme dhāḥ |*  
*yád dha te víśvā giráyaś cid ábhvā*  
*bhiyā dṛḥhāsaḥ kirāṇā naijan ||*



“Thou art great, O Indra, that, when being born, didst set Heaven and Earth in agitation through thy strength; and when, from fear of thee, all beings, even firm mountains, trembled like particles of dust.” The correct reading is *viśvā* and *ābhvā*, neuter, as given in the Padapāṭha (see also Bergaigne, *op. cit.*), and not *viśvāḥ* and *ābhvāḥ* as assumed by Roth (*PW*) and Geldner (*op. cit.*). *viśvā ābhvā* = *viśvāni bhūtāni* = all beings, that is, the creation, the world, the universe; and Bergaigne (*op. cit.*) has rightly observed that ‘*viśvā . . . ābhvā* sont l’expression d’un tout dont les montagnes, *girāyaś cit, font partie.*’ Compare 1, 61, 14: *asyéd u bhīyā girāyaś ca dyāḥ dyāvā ca bhūmā janūśas tujete*; 4, 17, 2: *tāva tviṣó jániman rejata dyaú réjad bhūmir bhīyāsā svāsya manyóḥ | ṛghāyānta subhvaḥ párvatāsa ārdan dhānvāni sarāyanta āpaḥ ||*

2, 33, 10: *ārhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhānvā-  
rhan niškām yajatām viśvārūpam |  
ārhan idām dayase viśvam ābhvam  
nā vā ójīyo rudra tvád asti ||*

“Thou, O venerable, carriest bow and arrows; thou, O venerable, the all-formed necklace deserving of worship. Thou, O venerable, rulest all this universe; there is none, O Rudra, more mighty than thou.” Or, should we take *ābhvam* here in the sense of ‘evil being’ and translate the third pāda as ‘Thou, O venerable, cuttest to pieces all the evil beings here’ (compare Max Müller’s translation in *SBE.* 32, 427: ‘Worthily thou cuttest every fiend here to pieces’) or as ‘Thou, O venerable, rulest all these evil beings’? Rudra is, as we know, the lord of all evil beings (known as *pramatha* or *bhūta* in later literature) not only in post-Vedic literature but even in the Yajus-saṁhitās; compare TS. IV. 5, 11, 1: *yé (sc. rudrāḥ) bhūtānām ādhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kapardīnaḥ*. Compare also Śāṅkh. ŚS. 4, 20, 1 and Sāyaṇa’s commentary, *eṣa devaḥ | eṣa iti hastena pradarśya rudro ’bhīdhīyate | tat*

*tasmād eva kāraṇād asya rudrasyaital lokaprasiddham  
bhūtaśabdopetaṁ nāma saṁpannam | bhūlapatir iti bhūtavan  
nāma* on AB. 3, 33, 1-2.

6, 71, 5: *úd ū ayāñ apavaktéva bāhú*  
*hiranyáyā savitā suprátikā |*  
*divó róhāṁsy aruhat pṛthivyā*  
*ārīramat putáyat kác cid ábhvam ||*

“He, Savitṛ, raised high his (two) golden well-formed arms, like a speaker; he climbed over the heights of heaven and of the earth; he stopped all swift-moving beings.” *upavaktā* = a speaker, one who harangues others, an orator; that is, one who calls for the attention of other people. To attract attention, such speaker holds his hands high; compare Ratnapālanṛpakathānaka (Bhavanagar ed., p. 5), st. 106: *nivartayantī tumulaṁ hastam utkṣīpya dūrataḥ | avocat spaṣṭa-vācaivam saṁrabdhān sarva-bhūbhujāḥ*; ZDMG. 54, 529: *yogīndraḥ śanaiś-śanair dhyānam muktvaḥ hasann evam uvāca | kiṁ kasmai pradīyate | kas trāyate bhavārṇavāt | sa nara ūrdhva-bāhur evaṁ jagāda | dhanāyāham tavātithiḥ*; Bhārata-pañcadaśopodghāta, p. 26: *satyaṁ satyaṁ punaḥ satyam uddhṛtya bhujam ucyate | Bhāratān na paraṁ śāstraṁ cāsti loke mahārthadam*. So also does Savitṛ; compare 2, 38, 2: *vīśvasya hī śruṣṭāye devā ūrdhvāḥ prú bāhāvā pṛthūpāniḥ śísarti | āpaś cid asya vratā ā nīmṛgrā ayām cid vāto ramate párijman*. “He, the god (*sc.* Savitṛ) with wide-extending hands, holds forth his arms aloft for the hearing of the universe (that is, that the world may pay attention to him and hear him); even the Waters follow his law; this Vāta even stops in his course (at his command).”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig translates the first pāda as, ‘wie ein upavaktar [priester] hat er die arme emporgestreckt,’ and, on p. 226 of vol. III (of his *RV. Ueber*), too, writes as follows:

“VI, 71, 5. wie ein upavaktar hat er seine arme ausgestreckt, Savitar, der gott: dies kann nicht im allgemeinen ‘wie ein herbeirufender’ bedeuten, weil das ausstrecken der arme zunächst nicht das

I follow Sāyaṇa in asking *patayat* as a participle. The sense of the third pāda is, 'he checks, he causes to stop, all things.' Compare 2, 38, 3 : *ārīramad ātamānaṁ cid étoḥ | ahyārṣūṇām cin ny āyāñ aviṣyām* "He (*sc.* Savitr) stopped even the swift-moving (wind) .from moving ; he checked the course of even those who were pressing forward like ahīs." Compare 2, 38, 2 explained above and also 7, 56, 19 : *imé turām marúto rāmayanti* "These Maruts bring the swift-moving one to a halt."

1, 92, 5 : *prāty arcī rūṣad asyā adarśi*  
*vī tiṣṭhate bādḥate kṛṣṇām ābhvam |*  
*svāruṁ ná pēso vidátthesv añjāñ*  
*citrām divó duhitā bhānūm aśret ||*

"Her (*sc.* the Dawn's) bright light is seen ; it spreads itself and dispels the black being. Adorning the sacrificial post in sacrifices as if with an ornament, the Daughter of Heaven has spread her brilliant light."

It is possible to translate *ābhvam* here as 'substance' or as 'evil being' also. In any case the sense of the passage remains the same as it is the darkness that is

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herbeirufen als solches charakterisierendes ist, wol aber wenn es sich um ein herbeirufen im speciellen sinne handelt, bei welchem gewisse äusserliche bewegungen regelmässig stattfinden und selbstverständlich sind, wie es eben das ausbreiten der arme bei anrufung der götter überall ist (vgl. III, 14, 5. VI, 16, 46. 63, 3. X, 79, 2)."

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect. In the first place, the verses 3, 14, 5, etc., referred to by Ludwig, allude to the stretching or spreading of the arms in front (*uttānahasta*); this is quite different from raising the arms on high which is a characteristic of one who wants to attract the attention of others. Compare the passages cited above. (As a matter of fact, the raising high of the arms is a gesture that is used every-where by every one, including school-children, to attract the attention of other people). Secondly, not one of the Śrauta ritual books prescribe that the *upavaktṛ* (that is, the *matrāvaruṇa* or *praśāstr*; see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda <sup>2</sup>, 390: Ludwig's suggestion that he is the *acchāvāka* is untenable) should raise his hands high on any occasion.

referred to by that word (see Bergaigne, *op. cit.*). Compare 7, 77, 1 : *ákar jyótir bádhamānā tūmāmsi*, "She (*sc.* Uṣas) made light after dispelling darkness"; 7, 78, 2 : *uṣā yāti jyótiṣā bádhamānā vísvā tūmāmsi duritāpa devī* "The goddess Uṣas goes, dispelling with her light all darkness and evil"; 7, 80, 2 : *gūḍhvī támo jyótiṣoṣā abodhi* "She (*sc.* Uṣas) has awakened hiding the darkness with her light."

The sense of the third pāda is not very clear. I follow Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 2, 124) in taking *añján* as standing for *añjantī* and translate it as above. The top of the sacrificial post that is touched and illuminated by the bright ray, *citró bhānūḥ*, of the Dawn appears as if adorned with ornaments; and hence, Uṣas is said to adorn the post, as it were, with a jewel. Compare 1, 92, 1 : *etā u tyā uṣásah ketúm akrata pūrve árdhe rájaso bhānúm añjate*; 7, 79, 2 : *vy añjate divó ánteṣv aktūn víso ná yuktā uṣáso yatante*; 7, 78, 1 : *prāti ketávaḥ prathamā adṛśrann ūrdhvā asyā añjáyo ví śrayante*; 1, 113, 14 : *vy añjibhir divá áttāsv adyaut*, where Uṣas is said to 'adorn' with her rays or where her rays themselves are called ornaments, and also 3, 8, 9 : *śukrá vásānāḥ sváravo na āguḥ* "The sacrificial posts bearing bright ornaments have come to us", where the ornaments of sacrificial posts are referred to.

4, 51, 9 : *tā in nv evā samanā sámānīr*  
*ámītavarnā uṣásas caranti |*  
*gūḥantīr ábhvam ásitam rúsadbhiḥ*  
*śukrás tanúbhiḥ śúcayo rucānāḥ ||*

"They that are alike, the Dawns, whose brilliance is undimmed, now go alike on their way, covering the black being with their bright selves, they that are brilliant, pure and effulgent."

1, 140, 5 : *ád asya té dhvasáyanto vṛtherate*  
*kṛṣṇām ábhvam máhi vúrpaḥ kárikrataḥ |*  
*yát sīm mahīm avánim prābhī mármṛśad*  
*abhiśvasān stanáyann éti nānadat ||*

“Then those (flames) of this (Agni) move swiftly forward destroying the black being, and putting on great splendour when he goes caressing the wide earth, panting, thundering, roaring.” *dhvasāyantaḥ* in the first pāda does not mean ‘sparkling’ as Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 141) understands; nor is the expression *kṛṣṇām ābhvam* the object (Oldenberg, *l.c.*, Geldner, *op. cit.*, p. 121) of *kārikrataḥ* in addition to *māhi vārpaḥ*. As the passage *rātho ha vām bhūri vārpaḥ kārikrat* (‘your chariot that has put on much splendour’) in 3, 58, 9 shows, *vārpaḥ* alone is the object of *kārikrataḥ* in the above verse, and not *kṛṣṇām ābhvam* also. This latter is the object of *dhvasāyantaḥ*, ‘destroying, pulverising,’ which is derived from the root *dhvas*, *dhvam*s ‘to destroy, to pulverise.’

AV. 4, 17, 5 (=7, 23, 1): *daúṣvapnyam daúrjīvityam*  
*rākṣo abhvām arāyyāḥ |*  
*durnāmnīḥ sārva durvācas*  
*tā asmān nāśayāmasi |*

“Evil-dreaming, evil-living, demon, evil being, hags, all the ill-named, ill-voiced,—these we make disappear from us.

AV. 13, 6, 4: *sá evá mṛtyúḥ sò 'mṛtam*  
*sò 'bhvam sá rákṣaḥ |*

“He verily (is) death, he immortality, he the evil being, he the demon.”

RV. 1, 39, 8: *yusmēṣito maruto mārtyeṣita*  
*ā yó no ābhva īṣate |*  
*ví tām yuyota śávasā vy ójasā*  
*ví yusmākābhir ūtibhiḥ ||*

“The evil spirit, O Maruts, that has been sent by you or by mortals, and is rushing on us—remove it from us by strength, by might, through your protections.” *ūti*, protection, denotes here really the deeds of prowess done by the Maruts in order to protect; compare 1, 129, 5: *ní śú namātimatiṁ kāyasya cit téjiṣṭhābhir arāṇibhir nótibhir ugrābhir ugrotībhiḥ* “Suppress well the pride of any one with thy fierce protections, *i.e.*, deeds of

prowess, that are most brilliant like firesticks, O thou fierce one." According to Sāyaṇa, Max Müller (SBE. 32, 97) and Ludwig, the second distich means, 'deprive him of power, of strength, and of your favours.' This interpretation however implies that the Maruts sometimes help the evil spirits sent by mortals, and hence does not seem to be satisfactory.

1, 169, 3 : *āmyak sâ ta indra ṛṣṭir asmé*  
*sānemy ābhvaṃ marúto jananti |*  
*agnis cid dhī śmātasé śusukvān*  
*āpo ná dvīpāṃ dādhati práyāmsi ||*

"That spear of thine, O Indra, has been attached (to thy body) on our behalf; the Maruts drive away totally the evil being. He has burnt up (the evil spirits) as Agni does brushwood; they bear food as the Waters, the island." This stanza is obscure, and in pādas c and d there is nothing to indicate who it is that is said to be *śusukvān* and to carry food. According to Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 222), who refers to the occurrence of the phrase *dādhati prayāmsi* in 3, 30, 1 and 10, 91, 9 (10, 91, 1 is a misprint), the two pādas refer to the men who prepare the sacrifice; *śusukvān* stands really for *śusukvāmsaḥ* and the meaning of the two pādas is, "denn wie Feuer im Gestrüpp glühend bereiten sie (die Priester) ein Gastmahl wie die Gewässer eine Insel." Regarding pāda a, he observes that the translation 'dein Speer hat sich gegen uns gerichtet' does not fit well in the context and that, moreover, nowhere in the RV is a *ṛṣṭi* spoken of in connection with Indra. He is therefore inclined to connect this word *ṛṣṭi* with *vṛṣṭi* in 1, 52, 5; 14 (cf. *vṛṣabhá* and *ṛṣabhá*) and *ṛṣvā*, and translates pāda a as 'An uns hat sich deine Hoheit (?), O Indra, angeschlossen.' Pāda b he translates as 'Die Marut setzen ihre gewaltige Erscheinung vollständig in Bewegung.'

All this seems to me to be hardly satisfactory. I think that pādas c and d refer, like a and b, to Indra and

the Maruts respectively. Regarding c, compare 6, 18, 10: *agnīr nā śuśkaṁ vānam indra hetī rākṣo nī dhakṣi* "Burn the evil spirits with thy weapon, O Indra, as Agni does dry forests." I take *cit* here as an *upamā-vācaka*; compare *Nirukta*, 1, 4, 13; *Nighaṇṭu*, 3, 13; and Geldner's translation, cited above, of this stanza.

Regarding *ṛṣṭī*, it is true that, as observed by Geldner, this word is nowhere else in the RV used to denote the weapon of Indra. But the root *ṛj* (*ṛñj*) from which it is derived means 'to let loose, to throw' so that *ṛṣṭī* denotes primarily that which is thrown. It is thus a synonym of *hetī* (from *hi*, 'to throw, to impel') 'missile, weapon' which is used in connection with Indra in 6, 18, 10 cited above and in other verses. There seems to be no doubt therefore that it denotes the Vajra or other weapon of Indra in the above verse and that pādas a and c together are a paraphrase of 6, 18, 10 cited above.

The comparison in pāda d is obscure. The meaning of the pāda seems to be, 'they, the Maruts, bear food as the Waters bear islands on their bosom.' Compare in this connection 1, 88, 1: *ā vārṣiṣṭhayā na iṣā vāyo nā paptatā sumāyāḥ*; 1, 166, 1: *nītyaṁ nā sūnūm mādhu bibhrata ūpa krīḷanti krīḷāḥ*; 5, 55, 1: *marūto bhrājad-ṛṣṭayo bṛhād vāyo dadhire rukmā-vakṣasaḥ*; and 7, 58, 3: *bṛhād vāyo maghāvadbhyo dadhāta*, in which the Maruts are represented as bringing food to their worshippers.

1, 185, 2: *bhūrim dvē ācarantī cārantam  
padvāntam gūrbham apādī dadhāte |  
nītyaṁ nā sūnūm pītrōr upāsthe  
dyāvā rākṣataṁ pṛthivī no ābhvāt ||*

This verse has already been translated on p. 6 above. Pāda d is found as the refrain of the six following verses of this hymn.

4, 49, 5. *prā yé vāsubhya īvad ā nāmo dūr  
yé mitré vārune sūktā-vācaḥ |  
āvaitv ābhvaṁ kṛnutā vārīyo  
divās-pṛthivyōr āvasā madema ||*

“Who offered such adoration to the bright ones, who speak hymns of praise to Mitra and Varuṇa—(from us) let the evil being depart; make (for us) broad space. May we be glad through the favour of Heaven and Earth.” The relative pronoun *yé* in pādas a and b has for antecedent *asmāt* (understood) in pāda c. The expression, ‘let the evil being depart, make for us broad space’ means, ‘drive off the evil beings and make the space around us clear of such beings; make us secure.’ The phrase *kṛṇutā vārīyaḥ* has the same sense as *varīvaḥ kṛṇota* (see Grassmann, s.v. *varīvaḥ*).

1, 24, 6: *nahī te kṣatrām ná sāho ná manyúm*  
*vāyaś canāmī patāyanta āpūḥ |*  
*némā āpo animiṣām cārantīr*  
*ná yé vātasya praminānty ābhvaṁ ||*

“Thy might, thy strength, thy wrath,—even these birds that fly did not attain (i.e., did not measure its extent); nor (did) these waters that move unceasingly, nor they that contemn (i.e., surpass) the might (i.e., the speed) of Vāta.” As explained by Sāyaṇa, *ābhvam*, might, is here equivalent to *vega*; for it is in *vega* that the might of Vāta is chiefly manifested. The sense of the fourth pāda is, ‘Not even they that are swifter than the wind, and still less the wind itself, can go beyond reach of thy strength, of thy might, of thy anger.’

1, 168, 9: *āsūta pṛṣṇir mahatē rāṇāya*  
*tveṣām ayāsām marūtām ānikam |*  
*té sapsārāso 'janayantābhvam*  
*ād it svadhām iṣirām páry apaśyan ||*

“Pṛṣṇi brought forth for the great fight the terrible troop of the impetuous Maruts. They, alike in form, produced (i.e. made manifest) their might and then saw around them the invigorating food.” The sense of the second distich is obscure. *sapsārāsaḥ*=alike in form; see *Ved. St.*, 3, 197, and *svadhā*=*sudhā*, the food of the gods; see pp. 41 f. above.



2, 4, 5 : ā yān me ābhvaṁ vanādaḥ pānan-  
tośigbhyo nāmimīta vārṇam |  
sā citréṇa cikite rāmsu bhāṣā  
jujurvāñ yó mūhur ā yūvā bhūt ||

The import of the first two pādas of this stanza is not clear. *vanādaḥ* is a hapax legomenon and is regarded by Oldenberg (SBE. 42, 205 ; *RV. Noten*, I, 192) as a compound of *van* 'the forest' and of *ad* 'to eat.' The stanza means therefore according to Oldenberg, "When they praised to me the monstrous might of the eater of the forests, he produced his (shining) colour as (he has done) for the Uśijs. With shining splendour he has shone joyously, he who having grown old has suddenly become young (again)." Similarly Geldner too translates the distich as "Was sie mir als das Grossartige des Holz-fressers rühmen : Er veränderte seine Farbe wie für die Uśij" in his *RV. Uebersetzung*. In *Ved. St.*, 3, 120, on the other hand, he regarded the word *vanād* as being formed, (like *bhasād*, and *śarād*) from the root *van* with the suffix *ad* and denoting 'wish, prayer'; and he translated the distich as, "Als meine Gebete seine Schreckensgestalt abfeilschten, da veränderte er seine Farbe wie für die Uśij." I am inclined to agree with Geldner's former opinion and look upon *vanād* as being derived from the root *van* 'to wish, to long for' with the suffix *ad*. *vanādaḥ* therefore means 'longing, eager,' and denotes, I conceive, the 'eager,' *i.e.*, swift-moving flames of Agni ; compare 6, 66, 10 : *tṛṣu-cyāvaso juhvò nāgnēḥ* 'greedily, *i.e.*, swiftly, moving like the tongues (*i.e.*, flames) of Agni' and the other verses referred to on p. 138 above. I therefore translate the stanza as : "He produced (*i.e.*, put on) splendour as if for the Uśijs when the eager (flames) proclaimed his might to me ; he shone with brilliant joyous light, he who having grown old, became again and again young."

Compare in connection with the first pāda, 6, 12, 5 :  
*ādha smāsyā panayanti bhāso vṛthā yāt tākṣad anuyāti*

*prthvīm*, 'then his splendours (*i.e.*, flames) proclaim his greatness as he, cutting, goes along the earth.' The expressions *āpananta* and *panayanta* in the above verses refer to the sound made by Agni's flames which are here represented as bards attending on kings and heralding their approach, that is, as the *vandinah*, *māgadhāḥ* or *sūtāḥ* that are mentioned in later literature as accompanying kings and sounding their praises; compare 9, 10, 3: *rājāno nā prāśastibhiḥ sōmāso gōbhīr ajyate*; 9, 65, 6: *rājā medhābhir iyate*. In 1, 87, 3: *svayām mahitvām panayanta dhūtayaḥ*, on the other hand, it is said of the Maruts that they themselves proclaimed their greatness, that is, that they were their own bards.

*amimīta* in pāda b is derived, as pointed out by Geldner in *Ved. St.*, 3, 119, from the root *mi*, *mī* and not from *mā*. The expression *vārṇam amimīta* is synonymous with the expression *vārpaḥ kārīkrat* that we have met with above in 1, 140, 5 and means 'he produced, *i.e.*, put on, splendour or brilliance.' Compare 2, 13, 3: *rūpā minān tādapā ēka iyate* and 5, 42, 13: *rūpā mināno ākṛṇod idām naḥ*. With regard to *mūhuh*, see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 3, 186 ff.

6, 4, 3: *dyāvo nā yāsya panāyanty ābhvaṁ*  
*bhāsāmsi vaste sūryo nā śukrāḥ |*  
*vi yā inóty ajārah pāvako*  
*'śnasya cic chiśnathat pūrvyāṇi ||*

"Whose might they praise like that of Dyaus, he (*sc.* Agni), brilliant like the sun, clothes himself in splendour; he who, bright and unaging, drives away (enemies) and destroyed the old (fortresses) of Aśna even." The sense of the first pāda is not quite clear, and the explanations given of it by Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) and Geldner (*ibid.*, 3, 121) are not very satisfactory. If *dyāvah* is to be taken as nominative plural (as it has to be in the other RV passages where it occurs) the meaning would be 'whose greatness the heavens (*i.e.*, the sky)

praise as it were.' This is the course followed by Ludwig who has translated the pāda as 'des gewalt die himmel gleichsam bewundern,' which is sufficiently close to the translation given by me above; compare 1, 15, 8: *táva dyaúr indra paúmsyam prthivī vardhati śrávaḥ*, 'The sky, O Indra, magnifies thy valour and the earth thy renown.' I believe however that the passage yields better sense if the word *dyāvaḥ* is taken as genitive singular and the pāda interpreted as 'of whom they praise the greatness as of Dyaus.' The greatness of Dyaus is referred to in 4, 21, 1: *dyaúr ná kṣatrām abhībhūti pūṣyāt* 'May he (sc. Indra) flourish, like Dyaus, in might surpassing those of others'; KS. 7, 13: *dyaúr mahnāsi bhūmīr bhūmnā* 'Thou art Dyaus (the sky) with (in?) greatness, the earth with (in?) vastness' and in 1, 131, 1; 1, 122, 1; etc., where the epithet *asuraḥ*, mighty, is applied to Dyaus. Compare also in this connection 1, 131, 1; 1, 63, 1 and other similar passages, which describe the might of Indra and other deities by saying that even the sky and the earth quaked with fear or drew back with fear at their approach.

This closes the list of passages in which *ábhva* occurs. It will be noted that, like the word *yakṣá*, this word too is used in the masculine as well as in the neuter gender; and there can be no doubt that, like its synonym *yakṣaḥ* (see p. 194), the word *ábhvaḥ* too denotes 'being (concrete); a class of superhuman beings; evil being', while *ábhva* neuter has, like *yakṣá* neuter, these as well as the other meanings mentioned on p. 199 above.

## § 11

### *admasád*

This word, about whose explanation there has been much dispute, is enumerated in 4, 1, amongst difficult words, by the *Nighaṇṭu*; and Yāska, in his commentary

on this section, has explained the word as *admasad* *admānnaṁ bhavaty admasādinīti vā 'nnasāninīti vā*, that is, as Durga explains, *gṛhādhikāre niyuktā anna-sādhikā strī*. This explanation is adopted, in his commentary on RV. 1, 124, 4, by Sāyaṇa who explains the word as *adyata ity adma annam | tasya pākāya gṛhe sīdatīti admasat pākikā yoṣit*, but who gives in addition another explanation of the word—*yad vā admeti gṛha-nāma | varūtham admeti tan-nāmasu pāṭhāt | tatra sīdatīty admasaj janani*. In the other verses, however, where this word occurs (6, 30, 3; 7, 83, 7; 8, 44, 29) he gives the derivation *admani sīdatīty admasad* and takes the word as a masculine, interpreting *adma* as *haviḥ* in 7, 83, 7 and 8, 44, 29 and also in 6, 4, 4, where the nearly-allied word *admasādvā* is used. In 8, 43, 19, he interprets *adma-sūdyāya* as *annasya bhajanāya*.

Like Sāyaṇa, Roth too in the PW understands the word as equivalent to *annasad* or 'one who sits down to food'; he however interprets it as *Gast beim Mahle* and the allied word *admasadya* as *Tischgenossenschaft*, an interpretation which was accepted by Bergaigne (*Etudes*, p. 43) but dissented from by Haug (GGA. 1875, p. 80). Geldner, on the other hand, favoured, in *Ved. St.* 2, 179, the explanation reported by Durga as put forward by 'some' that the word signifies *makṣikā* or fly, observing that, in 7, 83, 7, the Vasiṣṭhas style themselves flies jokingly. In his *Glossar*, however, he has modified this opinion and said that the word denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 (in his *RV. Ueber.*, too, he has accordingly translated pāda c as, 'wie eine Fliege weckt sie die Schläfer') and 6, 30, 3, while in 7, 83, 7 it denotes 'der bei dem Opfermahle sitzende Priester.'

Geldner's explanation (in *Ved. St.*, 2, 179) has been criticised by Oldenberg on p. 91 of his *Vedaforschung* where this savant has declared his preference for that proposed by Roth, with the reservation however that he does not believe that it is 'vollkommen sicher.' Similarly,

Hillebrandt too (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 1, n. 3) has rejected the explanation of Geldner and adopted that of Roth in his translation of 1, 124, 4. Dr. Neisser, on the other hand (*Zum Wörterbuch des RV*), agrees with Geldner in thinking that the word means 'auf die Speise sich setzend,' that it denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 and 6, 30, 3, and that it is, in the other verses, an attribute of Agni and of the priest.

None of these explanations seems to me to be satisfactory. The word *admasád* occurs in but four passages; and I find it difficult to believe with Sāyaṇa and Geldner that, in one passage, it denotes 'fly' or 'cook' (fem.), and in another 'priest.' Similarly I find it difficult to accept Roth's explanation that it means 'guest'; for, nowhere, either in the RV or in any other Vedic or post-Vedic book, do we ever hear of a guest awakening those that are asleep. On the contrary, RV. 8, 44, 1: *saṁidhā 'gnīm duvasyata ghr̥taír bodhayatā-tithim | āsmin havyā juhātana* seems to suggest that, in the time of the R̥gveda, it was the host that awakened the guest in order to feed him.

Likewise, Yāska's explanation, too, of the word as 'one who sits down to or in food (*annasād*)', is without doubt wrong. The *Nighaṇṭu* mentions in 2, 7 as synonyms of *anna* the following twenty-eight words, namely, *āndhaḥ, vājah, páyah, práyah, pr̥kṣáh, pitúḥ, váyah, sínam, ávah, kṣú, dhāsīḥ, írā, ílā, íṣam, ūrk, rásah, svadhā, arkāḥ, kṣádma, némah, sasám, nāmah, āyuh, sūn̐tā, bráhma, vārcaḥ, kīlālam* and *yásah*, of which all are found in the RV with the exception of *némah*. But no verb meaning 'to sit' is found used in the RV in any passage in connection with the locative or dative case of any of these twenty-seven words or of their synonyms *ánna* and *havis* also. Nor, I believe, can an instance be met with elsewhere in Vedic or later literature where human beings or divinities are said or exhorted 'to sit in (loc.) or for (dat.) food.' The expression commonly used

in such a situation in later times is *bhoktum* or *bhojanāya upaviṣati* or its equivalents, and not *annē* or *annāya upaviṣati* and its equivalents (compare for instance Śaṅkara's commentary on Ch. Up. 3, 3, 5: Śaunakam Kāpeyam Kapi-gotram Abhipratāriṇam ca nāmataḥ Kakṣasenasyāpatyam Kākṣasenim *bhojanāyopaviṣtau* pari- viṣyamāṇau sūpakārair brahmacārī brahmavac chaunḍo bibhikṣe bhikṣitavān). And in the RV itself, a poet in a similar situation has said, (7, 57, 2) *ā vītāye sadata pipriyāṇāḥ*. Similarly, the idea of *Tischgenossenschaft* is expressed in Sanskrit not by *admasadya* or its equivalents but by the word *sahabhojana* or its equivalents.

In thus becomes evident that neither the explanation of Yāska nor those of the above-mentioned exegetists, based on it, are correct and that the meaning of the word *admasād* is still a riddle. As it happens, the four passages in which the word occurs, as well as other connected passages of the RV, furnish enough clues to enable one to solve this riddle.

It is shown by 1, 124, 4c: *admasān nā sasatō bodhāyantī* that the awakening of others is a characteristic of the *admasādaḥ*; and it is similarly made clear by 6, 30, 3c: *nī pārvatā admasādo nā seduḥ* that sitting down is another characteristic of the *admasādaḥ*. A comparison therefore of the upamānas in the RV passages in which sitting is the *sāmānya-dharma* with the words that are used as subjects of verbs meaning 'to awaken' in other RV passages<sup>1</sup> will show us what persons or things are

<sup>1</sup> Excluding 1, 124, 4, there are but three passages in the RV, namely, 1, 134, 3: (*vāyo*) *prā bodhayā pūramdhiṃ jārā ā sasatīm iva*; 7, 67, 1: (*stōmah*) *yō vām dātō nā dhiṣṇyāv ājīgaḥ*; 7, 73, 3: *śruṣṭivēva prēṣito vām abodhi prāti stōmair jāramāṇo vāsiṣṭhaḥ* which contain similes in which the *sāmānya-dharma* is the awakening of others. As these are too few in number, I have included in the comparison all the persons or things that are described in the RV as awakening others and not merely those mentioned in the three similes mentioned above.

described by the RV poets as both awakening others and sitting down and will thus enable us to determine the meaning of *admasád*.

The passages containing similes with 'sitting' as *sāmānya-dharma*<sup>2</sup>, in addition to 6, 30, 3: *ní párvatā admasádo ná sduḥ*, are:

- 9, 38, 4: *śyenó ná vikṣú sīdati*;  
 8, 21, 5: *sīdantas te váyo yathā*;  
 9, 57, 3: *śyenó ná vámsu śīdati*;  
 8, 65, 9: *śvácity apsú hamsó ná sīdan*;  
 1, 85, 7: *váyo ná sīdant ādhi barhiṣi priyé*;  
 9, 61, 21: *sīdañc chyenó ná yónim ā*;  
 9, 92, 6: *sīdan mṛgó ná mahiṣó váneṣu*;  
 9, 96, 23: *sīdan váneṣu śakunó ná pátvā*;  
 9, 62, 4: *śyenó ná yónim āsadat*;  
 9, 86, 35: *śyenó ná vámsu kalāṣeṣu sīdasi*;  
 9, 72, 5: *vér ná druṣác camvòr ā sadad dhāriḥ*;  
 10, 43, 4: *váyo ná vṛkṣām supalāśām ā sadan*;  
 1, 168, 3: *sómāso . . . hr̥tsú pītāso duvāso nāsate*;  
 9, 82, 1: *śyenó ná yónim ghṛtāvāntam āsadam*;  
 9, 71, 6: *śyenó ná yónim sādanan̄ dhiyā kṛtām  
 hiranyāyam āsadam*;  
 10, 115, 3: *tām vo víṁ ná druṣadam*;  
 6, 3, 5: *vér ná druṣadvā raghupátmajamhāḥ*;  
 1, 104, 1: *tām ā ní śīda svānó nārvā*;  
 9, 7, 5: *vīšo rājeva sīdati*;  
 9, 64, 29: *sīdanto vanúṣo yathā*;  
 9, 92, 2: *sīdan hóteva sādane camūṣu*;  
 7, 30, 3: *ny àgnīḥ sīdad ásuvo ná hótā*;  
 4, 35, 8: *śyenā ivéd ādhi divi niṣedá*;  
 10, 43, 2: *rājeva dasma ní śadódhi barhiṣi*; and  
 7, 32, 2: *mádhau ná mákṣa āsate*;

and the *upamānas* used in such similes are accordingly *śyenāḥ*, *váyah*, *sómah*, *mákṣah*, *árvā*, *mṛgó mahiṣāḥ*,

<sup>2</sup> In reality, the *sāmānya-dharma* in the first eighteen of the passages cited here is not 'sitting,' but swift movement; see p. 96 above and also n. 10 there.

*śakunáh, haṁśáh, rājā, hótā* and also *admasád*. The words used as subjects of the verb *jāgr* 'to awaken' are *uṣāh, sómah, agnīh* and *dūtáh*, and of the verb *budh* (caus.) 'to awaken' are *śvā, jāráh, jāriṇi?, agnīh, indrah, uṣāh, śruṣṭivā, jaritā, yajña-hotā*,<sup>3</sup> and also *admasúd*.

It will be seen from the above that, excluding the *admasád*, the only person or thing to which the RV poets attribute the characteristic of 'sitting' and which they at the same time describe as awakening others, is the priest who is called *hotṛ* in 7, 30, 3 and 9, 92, 2 cited above, and *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* in 10, 42, 2: *prá bodhaya jaritar jārām indram* and 8, 9, 17: *prá bodhayoṣo aśvinā prá devi sūnrte mahi | prá yajñahotar ānuśák prá mādāya śrávo bṛhát*. And it follows hence that the word *admasád* denotes in all probability the *hotṛ* or the priest who chants the prayers addressed to the gods.<sup>4</sup>

This conclusion is confirmed by 7, 83, 7: *satyā nrñām admasádām úpastutiḥ* from which we learn that *admasadana* is an attribute of human beings and 8, 43, 19: *agnīm dhībhīr manīṣīno médhivāso vipaścītaḥ | admasádyāya hinvire* in which it is said that the priests urged Agni to become, or assume the function of, an *admasad*. It becomes evident from these passages that *admasadana* is in all probability equivalent to *hotṛtva*. For, as

<sup>3</sup> The *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* are explicitly mentioned as subjects of the verb *bodhay* in 10, 42, 2 and 8, 9, 17. In addition, there is no doubt that the verses 5, 14, 1; 1, 22, 1 and 8, 44, 1 (which according to Sāyaṇa are addressed to the *stotṛ, adhvaryu* and *ṛtviḣ* respectively) are addressed to the priest and that we have to understand *jaritṛ* or similar word as the subject. In 7, 44, 2 too, the subject *vayām* refers without doubt to the priests or singers.

<sup>4</sup> I may perhaps observe here that the position is in no way altered if, instead of the *upamānas* in the above-cited similes, we include in our purview all the words that are found used in the RV passages as subjects of verbs meaning 'to sit.' A great majority of such words (e.g., *agnīh, indrah, marūtah*, etc.) refer to divinities or to quasi-divinities (*venáh, gnáh, apsarásaḥ, pitáraḥ, spásah*). Since it is clear from 7, 83, 7: *satyā nrñām admasádām*



observed by Prof. Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 96): "In consequence of his main function in the Veda of officiating at the sacrifice, Agni comes to be celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is therefore often called generically the 'priest' (*ṛtvij*, *viprā*) or specifically the 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), and constantly, more frequently in fact than by any other name, the 'offerer' (*hotṛ*), or chief priest, who is poet and spokesman in one. He is a Hotṛ appointed by men (8, 49, 1; 10, 7, 5) and by gods (6, 16, 1). He is the most adorable, the most eminent of Hotṛs (10,2,1; 91, 8)."

The word *ūpastuti* too in 7, 83, 7c cited above can, by its very nature be associated only with priests and is in fact so associated with them in the RV, as likewise are its synonyms *gīr*, *stuti*, *stoma*, etc. And this fact too indicates that the expression *admasádo nāraḥ* in the above pāda signifies priests that praise, that it is a synonym of *hótāraḥ* or *jaritāraḥ*.

The above-mentioned considerations thus place it beyond doubt that *admasád* means *hótṛ* or the priest who chants hymns of praise. And that being so, the question arises in our mind, "What is the literal meaning of the word *admasád*, and why does it denote the *hótṛ*?" The clue to the answer of this question is contained in Sāyaṇa's

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*ūpastutiḥ* that *admasád* denotes human beings, we have to pass over all such words as also over all the words that denote inanimate things (*pārvalāḥ*, *mayúkhāḥ*, *gávyutiḥ*, *cakráṃ*, *rājāḥ*) or birds, insects and beasts (*syenāḥ*, *vāyaḥ*, *hamsāḥ*, *śakunāḥ*, *sakúniḥ*, *gāvaḥ*, *mrgó mahiśāḥ*, *makṣāḥ*) and also *admasád* whose meaning we are investigating, and include in our comparison such words only as refer to human beings. These are—*narāḥ*, *manuṣyāḥ*, *kanyā*, *dāsyuḥ*, *ṣṣayaḥ*, *rājā*, *vīrāḥ*; and *hótā*, *pótā*, *brahmā*, *stotāraḥ*, *sūrāyaḥ*, *brahmakṛtāḥ*, *sákhāyaḥ*. The last-mentioned four or five words are synonyms of *hotṛ*.

*hotṛ*, referring to the priest, is found as subject in about ten of the passages in question, and referring to or in apposition with Agni, in about fifteen passages.

words: *yad vā admeti gr̥ha-nāma | varūtham admeti tan-nāmasu pāṭhāt | tatra sīdatīty admasaj janani* cited on p. 212 above. The reference here is presumably to *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4, which enumerates twenty-two synonyms of *gr̥ha*; but, curiously enough, the word *varūtha* only is found amongst these twenty-two names and not *adman* which is mentioned by Sāyaṇa.<sup>5</sup> The dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte, however, mention in connection with this word the meaning of house also; and there is thus no doubt that *adman* is a synonym of *gr̥ha*.

*admasād* therefore means literally 'one who sits in the house', and through *rūḍhi*, it denotes the *hotṛ* who sits, and sings, in his 'abode'. This abode or seat is called by the name of *sādma* (this is one of the twenty-two *gr̥ha-nāmāni* enumerated in *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4) in 1, 73, 1: (*agniḥ*) *hóteva sādma vidható ví tārīt*; 1, 73, 3: *nákṣad dhótā pári sādma mítā yán*; 7, 18, 22: *hóteva sādma páry emi rébhan*; 9, 92 6: *pári sádmeva paśumānti hótā*; 9, 97, 1: *páry eti rébhan mitéva sádma paśumānti hótā*; and by the name of *sādana* in 9, 92, 2: *sīdan hóteva sādane camūṣu*. It is also called *hotṛśadana* in 2, 9, 1: *ní hótā hotṛśadane vídānas tveśó dīdivāñ asadat sudákṣaḥ*.

The *hotṛ* and his 'abode'<sup>6</sup> were, as is natural, very familiar to the RV poets; and he was, in their minds, so

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<sup>5</sup> All the editions of the *Nighaṇṭu* mention as the twenty-second word of this section the word *ajma*, of the use of which in the sense of *gr̥ha* not one instance has so far been met with. It is not therefore improbable that the original text of the *Nighaṇṭu* read *adma* and not *ajma* in 3, 4. It is in any case very likely that the text which was known to Sāyaṇa included the word *adma* in 3, 4 amongst *gr̥ha-nāmāni*.

For the rest, it is my belief that *adman* is mentioned in some of the Sanskrit lexicons as having the meaning *gr̥ha*, though I have not, so far, come across any such passage in the lexicons that I have examined.

<sup>6</sup> This abode seems to be identical with the *hotṛśadana* or *hotṛ-dhiṣṇya* (*hotṛ-khara*) of the later ritual books or with the *sadas*

closely associated with his abode that his going to it, singing, and his sitting in it, became, as is evidenced by the above-cited passages, common figures of comparison. It is no wonder therefore that, in the circumstances, the word *admasad* became an appellative of the *hotṛ*, 'who sits in the abode.'

In any case, there is no doubt that *admasád* signifies 'hotṛ' and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages where this word and the allied words *admasadya* and *admasadvan* occur.

- 1, 124, 4: *úpo adarṣi śundhyúvo ná vákṣo*  
*nodhā ivāvír akṛta priyāni |*  
*admasán ná sasató bodháyanti*  
*śasvattamāgāt púnar eyúṣiṇām ||*

This has already been translated above; see p. 32. Regarding the *hotṛ*'s awakening of those that are asleep, compare 8, 9, 17 and 10, 42, 2 cited above, in which the *hotṛ* is exhorted to awaken the deities. Compare also 10, 29, 1: *śúcir vām stómo bhuraṇāv ajīgaḥ*; 7, 67, 1: *yó* (sc. *stomah*) *vām dūtó ná dhiṣṇyāv ajīgaḥ*; 7, 73, 3: *śruṣṭīvēva prēṣito vām abodhi prāti stómair járamāṇo vāsiṣṭhaḥ* in which the hymns of praise sung by the priests are said to have awakened the Aśvins. And regarding the Dawn's awakening of sleepers, compare 1, 113, 9: *úṣo . . . yán mānuṣān yakṣyámāṇāñi ajīgaḥ*; 6, 65, 1: *kṣitīr ucchānti mānuṣīr ajīgaḥ* and the passages referred to by Grassmann s.v. *budh* (*bodhayanti*).

- 6, 30, 3: *adyā cin nú cit tát úpo nadīnām*  
*yád ābhyo árado gātúm indra |*  
*ní párvatā admasádo ná sedus*  
*tváyā dṛḷhāni sukrato rájāmsi ||*

"Even now and in the time to come, O Indra, (endures) the work (that thou didst in respect) of the

of which the *hotṛ-dhiṣṇya* formed part. See *Śrautapadārthanirvacana* (2nd ed.), p. 27 (no. 219), p. 247 (no. 181), and p. 243 (no. 175); Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, I, §§ 89—99, and Pl. IV

rivers when thou didst cut out a path for them. The mountains sat down, like *hotṛs* (at thy behest). The worlds, O wise one, have been made firm by thee". *nū cit*=in the time to come; see Geldner, *Glossar* (s.v.). Yāska (*Nirukta*, 4, 17), and following him, Sāyaṇa, however interpret it as *purā*. The words 'at thy behest' have to be understood here; compare Sāyaṇa: *tvad-ājñayā parvatā girayo niṣeduh*. The *tertium comparationis* in pāda c is, according to Sāyaṇa, and Geldner (*Ved., St*, 2, 179), *naiścalyena upaveśanam*. But the simile *śīdan hōteva* occurs in 9, 92, 2: *ācchā nṛcākṣā asarat pavitre nāma dādihānaḥ kavīr asya yōnau | śīdan hōteva śādane camūṣūpam agmann ṛṣayah sapta vipraḥ* which says that the Soma juice settled in the bowls like the *hotṛ* in his abode. Now, the Soma juice setting in bowls, vats or jars is, in 9, 38, 4; 9, 57, 3 and other passages cited on p. 215 above, compared with the falcon sitting (*i.e.*, going to sit) in his nest; and the *tertium comparationis* in these verses is, as I have already pointed out, not 'sitting' but 'swift movement.' This is the case in 9, 92, 2 and also in 9, 92, 6: *pūri śādmeva paśumānti hōtā rājā nā satyāḥ sāmitīr iyānāḥ | sōmaḥ punānāḥ kalāśān ayāsīt śīdan mṛgō nā mahiṣō vāneṣu* and 9, 97, 1: *sutāḥ pavitraṁ pāry eti rēbhan mitēva śādma paśumānti hōtā*. Compare also 1, 180, 9: *prā syandrā yātho mānuṣo nā hōtā* "O ye swift ones (*sc.* Aśvins), you go (as swiftly) as the human *hotṛ*, *i.e.*, as the *hotṛ* priest," and 1, 73, 1: *hōteva śādma vidhatō vī tārit* "(Agni) went to the worshippers (as swiftly) as the *hotṛ* does to his abode" where too the *sāmānya-dharma* is swift-going.

The simile *admasādo nā seduh* in pāda c of the above verse is but a paraphrase of the simile *śīdan hōteva*; and hence the *tertium comparationis* in this pāda too is swift movement. The meaning of the pāda is, "At thy behest, the mountains sat down (*i.e.*, began to sit down) as quickly as *hotṛs*." Compare 2, 11, 8: *nī pārvataḥ sādy*

*áprayucchan* "The mountain, taking heed, sat (at thy behest); that is, the mountain, heeded thy behest and sat"; and 2, 11, 7: *áramsta párvataś cit sariṣyán*, "Even the mountain that was moving stopped (and settled on the earth at thy behest)." The reference here is to the well-known story of Indra cutting off the wings of the flying mountains and making them settle permanently on the earth; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 174.

7, 83, 7: *dāśa rājānaḥ sámitā áyayavaḥ*  
*sudāsam indrāvaruṇā ná yuyudhuḥ |*  
*satyā nṛṇām admasádām úpastutir*  
*devā eṣām abhavan deváhūtiṣu ||*

"The ten impious kings, O Indra and Varuṇa, did not fight (*i.e.*, did not gain a victory over) Sudās in battle. The praising of the hotṛ priests bore fruit; the gods stood by them when they were invoked." The battle of Sudās with the ten kings is described more fully in the hymn VII, 18; see Sāyaṇa's commentary thereon and Geldner's *Kommentar*.

8, 44, 29: *dhīro hy ásy admasád*  
*vipro ná jāgrvīḥ sádā |*  
*agne dīdáyasi dyávi ||*

"Thou, O Agni, art a wise hotṛ, watchful always like a priest. Thou shinest in the heavens." The expression *dhīraḥ admasád* is equivalent to *hótā kavīkratuḥ* (1, 1, 5), *hótā vidúṣṭaraḥ* (1, 105, 13-14), *vipro hótā* (1, 14, 9) and other similar expressions. The epithet *jāgrvī* is frequently applied to Agni; see Grassmann, s.v., and the *vīprāḥ* or priests are described as *jāgrvāmsaḥ* in 1, 22, 21 and 3, 10, 9.

It is possible to construe the words *vipro ná* with the preceding word *admasád*; and this is what Geldner has in fact done in *Ved. St.*, 2, 180. The meaning of the first two pādas would then be, "Thou, O Agni, art wise, a chanter sitting in the abode like a priest, and always watchful." The word *admasád* has both the *yangika* and

*rūḍhi* meanings here and denotes the 'hotṛ who sits in the abode.' Regarding the simile, compare 10, 78, 1 : *vīprāso ná mánmabhiḥ svādhyāḥ* "like priests with hymns, singing songs"; compare also 7, 30, 3 : *ny āgnīḥ sīdad ásuṛo ná hótā, huvāno átra subhāgāya devān*<sup>7</sup> "The mighty Agni sat (in the abode) like the hotṛ, calling the gods here for good fortune."

6, 4, 4 : *vadmā́ hí sūno ásy admasádvā  
cakré agnír januṣā́jmaṇnam |  
sá tvām na ūrjasana ūrjam dhā  
rājeva jē avṛké kṣeṣy antāḥ ||*

"Thou, O son (of strength), art (our) speaker, (our) hotṛ. Agni, from his birth (*i.e.*, as soon as he was born), made his way to food. Bestow on us vigour, O thou vigour-bestower; thou conquerest like a king and dwellest in a secure place." *sūno* in pāda a stands without doubt for *sūno sahasaḥ*; compare 6, 13, 6 : *vadmā́ sūno sahaso no víhāyāḥ* and Oldenberg, ZDMG, 55, 291. Pāda b is somewhat obscure; Roth (ZDMG, 48, 679), regards *januṣā* in *januṣā́jmaṇnam* as standing for *januṣām*, while Grassmann is inclined to substitute *ájman* for *ájma*. Ludwig, without proposing any alteration translates pāda b as "Von jeher hat Agni sich seine ban und seine speise gemacht." This does not seem to be very satisfactory; and I therefore construe *ánnam* as depending on *ájma* (*annam prati ajma*) and translate it as above. Compare 4, 7, 10 : *sadyó jātásya dádyāsanam ójo yád asya vāto anuvāti śorīḥ | vṛṇākti tigmām atasēṣu jilvām sthirā cid*

<sup>7</sup> The description of the hotṛ as the 'sitter in the abode,' the allusion in the verses cited above (on p. 220) to him and his *sadman*, to his going to the *sadman* singing, and to his awakening of sleeping men and deities with his chants, as also the juxtaposition of the words *hotṛ* and *huvāna* in this verse, all indicate that his function, in the time of the RV as in that of the Śrauta-sūtras, was to chant hymns of prayer. Hence Yāska (comp. *Nirukta*, 7, 15 : *hotāram hvātāram*) seems to be right in deriving the word from *hu* 'to call,' and Aurnavābha wrong in deriving it from *hu* 'to offer oblations.'

*ánnā dayate vi jámbhaiḥ* " His might is seen as soon as he is born. When the wind blows behind his flame, he winds his sharp tongue round the brushwood. He cuts with his jaws even the firm food."

8, 43, 19 : *agnīm dhībhīr manīṣīṇo*  
*médhirāso vipāśītaḥ |*  
*admasādyāya hinvire ||*

" The wise, intelligent and inspired priests urged Agni with hymns (*i.e.*, prayers) to become hotṛ." Compare 3, 29, 8 : *sīda hotaḥ svā u loké cikivān* ; 1, 76, 2 : *ēhy agna ihā hótā ní śīda* ; and 2, 36, 4 : *úśan hotar ní śadā yóniṣu triṣú* in which Agni is exhorted to assume the office of hotṛ ; compare also 6, 4, 1 ; 6, 11, 1 ; 6, 11, 4 ; 6, 15, 16 ; 3, 4, 3 ; 3, 62, 12 ; 7, 39, 1, etc., in which verses too Agni is prayed to to become hotṛ.

## § 12

### *niréká*

This word occurs in eight passages of the RV and in no independent passage elsewhere. It is not mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and since, moreover, it does not occur in any of the passages cited in the *Nirukta*, Yāska and Durga have had no occasion of explaining it. Sāyaṇa derives the word from *nī+ric* ' to empty ' or *nir+i* ' to go ' (comm. on 8, 96, 3 : *nī-pūrvād ricyater vā niḥ-pūrvād eter veti samdehād anavagrahaḥ*) and explains it differently as *nairdhanya*, *durgati* or *dāridrya* (1, 51, 14 ; 7, 18, 23 ; 7, 90, 3), *dāna* (7, 20, 8), *dhana* (8, 24, 4) and *nirgamana* (8, 24, 3 ; 8, 33, 2 ; 8, 96, 3) in his commentary on the RV and as *reko riktatvam | tadrahitaṁ karma nirekaṁ tādrśe sarvasāadhanasāmpūrṇe karmaṇi* in his commentary on TB. 2, 8, 1, 1 (=RV. 7, 90, 3). Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, on the other hand, in their commentaries on the same verse (VS. 27, 24=RV. 7, 90, 3) interpret the

word as *janair ākirṇa-pradeśe* and *nirgataḥ rekah recanam rekah śūnyatā yasmāt tādrśe bahu-janākirṇa-sthāne* respectively.

Roth, too, in the PW, derives the word from *ni+ric* and explains *nirekam* (acc.) as 'etwa bleibender Besitz; Eigenthum' and *nireke* (loc.) as '(eigenthümlich) bleibend; auf die Dauer; für immer.' This interpretation was considered unsatisfactory by Geldner (*Ved. St.*, 1, 155) who therefore proposed (ibid., p. 157) the meanings '1. Subst. bevorzugter-, Ehren-platz, Vorrang, Vortritt 7, 20, 8; 1, 51, 14; 8, 33, 2; 7, 18, 23; 8, 24, 3; 8, 96, 3; (2) Adj. eine bevorzugte Stellung einnehmend, bevorzugt 8, 24, 4; 7, 90, 3 dunkel.' In his *Glossar* however he has, following Roth, interpreted *nireka* as "alleiniger Besitz 8, 24, 4; Ausschliesslichkeit; loc. in alleinigem Besitz 1, 51, 14; 7, 18, 23; 7, 90, 3; 8, 96, 3; ausschliesslich, ganz allein 7, 20, 8; 8, 24, 3; 8, 33, 2". Similarly Oldenberg too writes (*RV. Noten.* I, 49): "Wie *prarekā* Hinausreichen, Ueberschiessen ist *nirekā* m. E. wörtlich etwa Hineinreichen d. h. das Stehen in engsten Zusammenhang mit Jemand, Zugehören zum intimsten Besitz Jemandes; vgl. *nītya*".

The above interpretations are all based on the supposed derivation of the word from the root *ric* with *ni*, and are mere guesses. None of them fits into the context in, for instance, 1, 51, 14: *īndro aśrāyi sudhyò nireké* and 7, 90, 3: *údha vāyúm niyútah saścata svā utá śvetám vásudhitim nireké*; and a comparison of the passages in which this word occurs with other connected passages shows that the real meaning of the word is something quite different from those mentioned above.

In 8, 24, 4: *ā nirekām utá priyām īndra darṣi jánānām*, we find *nirekā* used as the object of *ādarṣi* while in the preceding verse (8, 24, 3): *sá na stāvāna ā bhara rayim citrá-śravastamam | nireké cid yó harivo vásur dadīh*, it is said of Indra that he gives wealth in *nireka*.



A comparison therefore of the words that are used in RV passages as objects of the root *dy* or *dar* 'to burst open' with the words used in the locative case in connection with the word *dadī* in the passages in which that word occurs<sup>1</sup> will show what is common to both groups of words and will thus guide one to the meaning of *nireka*.

Now, the words used as objects of the verb *dy* or *dar* are, besides *nireká*, the following, namely, *átka*, *ádri*, *áp*, *ápikita*, *amitra*, *ásvya*, *iṣ*, *útsa*, (*diváh*) *kávandha*, *kóśa*, *gó*, *gotrá*, *gódhāyas*, *dāsyu*, *dānu*, *dr̥lhá*, *púr*, *bhúvana*, *rādhah*, *valá*, *vāja*, *vrajá*, *śatá*, *śátru*, *sāmbara*, *sahāsra*, *sugráthita* and *sūkará*.

The word *dadī* is used in twelve verses in nine of which it is not connected with any word in the locative case. In the remaining verses, it is connected with the locative *nireka* in 8, 24, 3 as we have seen above; and in 1, 81, 7: *māde-made hí no dadír yūthā gāvām ṛjukrátuḥ | sām gṛbhāya purū śatóbhayahastyā vāsu śiśihī rāyā ā bhara* and 8, 46, 15: *dadī rékṇas tanvè dadír vāsu dadír vājeṣu puruhūta vājīnam | nūnām áttha*, it is connected with the locatives *māde-made* and *vājeṣu* respectively.

It will be seen that, beside *nireká* whose meaning we are now endeavouring to determine, the word *vāja* is the only one that is common to both groups; and this indicates that *nireká* is probably equivalent to *vāja*.

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, it is necessary that one should, if one desires one's survey to be comprehensive, include in the comparison (1) not only the words used as objects of the verb *dy* or *dar* 'to burst open,' but also those used as objects of *tyh*, *bhid* and similar verbs, and (2) not only the words used in the locative case in connection with the word *dadī*, but also those used in that case in connection with the verbs *dā*, *rā*, etc., meaning 'to give.' It will however become manifest from the sequel that such a comprehensive comparison is unnecessary and that the limited comparison indicated above is enough to lead one to the correct meaning.

The comparison of 7, 20, 8 : *yās ta indra priyó jáno dúdāśad āsan nireké adrivaḥ sákhā te* with its parallel passages and of 7, 90, 3 : *ádha vāyúm niyútah saścata svā utá śvetám vásudhitim nireké* with its parallel passages points likewise to such equivalence and hence makes it certain that *nireká* = *vāja*. In 7, 20, 8, Indra is exhorted to regard, in *nireká*, the offerer (of oblations) as his friend, that is, to befriend the offerer (of oblations) in *nireká*. The only other verses in the RV in which a similar prayer or exhortation is addressed to Indra, and words in the locative case are used in connection with *sakhi*, are 8, 13, 3 : *tám ahve vājasātaya indram bhārāya suśmīnam | bhāvā naḥ sumné ántamaḥ sákhā vṛdhé* ; 6, 33, 4 : *sá tvám na indrákavābhir ūti sákhā viśvāyur avitā vṛdhé bhūḥ | svārṣātā yád dhvāyāmasi tvā yúdhyanto nemádhita pṛtsú sūra* ; and 1, 129, 4 : *asmākaṁ va indram uśmasiṣṭāye sákhāyam viśvāyum prāsāham yujām vājeṣu prāsāham yujām | asmākaṁ bráhmotāye 'vā pṛtúṣu kāsu cit | nahí tvā śátruḥ stárate strṇóṣi yám viśvam śátrum strṇóṣi yám*. In the first of these verses, Indra is exhorted to befriend the suppliant in *sumná*, in the second, in *svārṣāti* and *pṛt* (note that these are synonyms of *vāja*), and in the third, in *vāja*. Compare also in this connection 4, 24, 6 : *kṛṇóty asmai vārivo yá itthéndrāya sómam uśaté sunóti | sadhrīcīcna mánasāvivenau tám ít sákhāyam kṛṇute samātsu* ; 8, 21, 8 : *vidmā sakhitvám utá sūra bhojyām ā te tā vajrim īmahe | utó samasminn ā śiśihi no vaso vāje suśipra gómati* ; 3, 51, 9 : *aptūrye maruta āpír eṣó 'mandann indram ánu dátivārāḥ | tébhiḥ sākām píbatu vṛtrakhādāḥ sutúm sómam dāśúṣaḥ své sadhásthe* ; and 6, 21, 8 : *sá tú śrudhíndra nūtanasya brahmaṇyató vira kārudhāyaḥ | tvám hy āpiḥ pradivi pitṛṇām śásvad babhūtha suháva eṣtau* and the locatives *vāje*, *samātsu*, *aptūrye* and *eṣtau*, (these three are synonyms of *vāja*), used therein.

In 7, 90, 3 : *ádha vāyúm . . . nireké*, it is said that the team (of horses) accompany Vāyu in *nireka*. Compare

with this verse 7, 91, 6: *yā vām śatām niyúto yāḥ sahasram indravāyū viśvāvārāḥ śacante | ābhir yātām suvidātrābhir arvāk pātām narā prátibhṛtasya mādhvah* in which the word *niyútaḥ* and the verb *sac* occur, and in which Indra and Vāyu are exhorted to come to the sacrifice (this, be it noted, is one of the meanings of *vāja*), accompanied by the team (of horses). Compare also 7, 91, 5. *ā no niyúdbhiḥ śatīnībhir adhvarām sahasrīnībhir ūpa yāhi yajñām | vāyo asmīn śavane mādayasva*; 7, 92, 3: *prā yābhir yāsi dāśvānsam ācchā niyúdbhir vāyav iṣṭāye duroṇé*; and 1, 135, 7: *āti vāyo sasatō yāhi śāsvato yātra grāvā vādati tātra gacchataṁ grhām indraś ca gacchataṁ | vi sūnṛtā dādṛśe rīyate ghṛtām ā pūrṇāyā niyūtā yātho adhvarām indraś ca yātho adhvarām* in which Vāyu is prayed to come with his team to the *yajñā* or *adhvarā* (which also is a synonym of *vāja*).

All this makes it certain and places it beyond doubt that *niréká* is equivalent to *vāja*. And hence it becomes evident that this word is derived, not from *ni+ric*, but from *ni+ri* or *rī* 'to run' (*ri gatau*; *rī gati-reṣaṇayoḥ*) by the addition of the suffix *ka*<sup>2</sup>; compare *ślōka* (from

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<sup>2</sup> This verb, *ri* or *rī* with *ni*, is used in the sense of running in 5, 86, 4: *nī yé riṇānty ōjasā vṛthā gāvo nā durdhūrah* "Who (sc. Maruts) run impetuously with force like bulls difficult to restrain". Grassmann in his Wörterbuch explains *durdhūrah* as 'schlechtes Joch habend,' and this explanation is adopted by Ludwig who translates, (no. 690) *durdhuro gāvaḥ* as 'wie schwer an die stange zu gewönende rinder.' There seems to me no doubt however that *durdhur* is, like *durdhara* and *durdhartu*, derived from the root *dhr* or *dhar* 'to hold' and means, like those words, 'difficult to hold back or check.' Compare 5, 87, 9: *yūyām tāsya pracetasah syāta durdhārtavo nidāḥ* in which the epithet *durdhartavaḥ* is applied to the Maruts and 5, 56, 3: *dudhrō gaūr iva bhīmayūḥ* where the rush of the Maruts is compared to that of an impetuous bull. Compare also Grassmann's translation, 'Die niederstürmen mit Gewalt wie ungezähmte Stiere wild.'

According to Hemacandra's *Anekārthamālā* and the *Medinī* (see the PW s. v.), *durdhara* is a synonym of *ṛṣabha*. The

*sru*) and (*su*) *méka* (from *mi*). *nireká* thus denotes, like its equivalent *vāja* which is derived from *vaj* 'to go' (*vaja gatau*), strength, quickness, race, booty, prize, battle, sacrifice, etc. (see PW and Grassmann s. v. *vāja*); and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the verses in which the word occurs.

8, 24, 4: *ā nirekām utā priyām*  
*īndra darṣi jānānām |*  
*dhṛṣatā dhṛṣṇo stāvamāna ā bhara ||*

"Thou, O Indra, also cuttest open (the receptacle of, and makest accessible) for people, the dear wealth. O thou valiant one, bring (us wealth) boldly, being praised." Regarding the expression *nirekām ādarṣi*, compare 2, 12, 15: *yāḥ sunvaté pácate dudhrā ā cid vājam dārdarṣi sá kílāsi satyāḥ*; 4, 16, 8: *sá no netā vājam ā darṣi bhūrim gotrā rujānn āngirobhir grṇānāḥ*; and specially, 8, 33, 3: *kāṇvebhir dhṛṣṇav ā dhṛṣād vājam darṣi sahasrīṇam*; and 8, 45, 40-41: *bhindhī vīśvā āpa dvīṣaḥ pári bādho jahī mṛdhaḥ | vāsu spārham tād ā bhara || yād vīḷāv indra yāt sthiré yāt pársāne párabhṛtam | vāsu spārham tād ā bhara* all addressed to Indra, and also 9, 68, 7: *avyo vārebhir utā devāhūtibhir nṛbhir yató vājam ā darṣi sātáye* addressed to Soma, and 10, 69, 3: *sá revác choca sá giro juṣasva sá vājam darṣi sá ihā śrávo dhāḥ* addressed to Agni. And regarding the phrase *priyām nirekām*, compare the expressions *priyām vāsu*, *spārham vāsu*, *kāmyam vāsu*, *vāmām vāsu*, etc. (for references, see Grassmann under these vocables).

expression *durdhuro gāvah* is accordingly equivalent to *rṣabhāḥ*. Compare 5, 56, 3 cited above and also 10, 103, 1: *āsūḥ śīśāno vṛṣabhō nā bhīmāḥ* in which the bull is mentioned as *upamāna* in respect of impetuous rush.

The verb *ri* or *rī*, without the prefix *nī*, is used with the sense of running in 5, 58, 6: *kṣódanta āpo rīnaté vānāni*; 1, 85, 3: *vārtmāny eṣām ānu rīyate ghṛtām* and other verses; see Grassmann s. v.

1, 51, 14: *īndro aśrāyi sudhyò nīreké*  
*pajrēsu stómo dūryo ná yūpaḥ |*  
*aśvayūr gavyū rathayūr vasūyūr*  
*īndra īd rāyāḥ kṣayati prayantā ||*

“Indra has been raised high (i.e., highly praised or glorified) in the sacrifice of the pious (sacrificer), and the hymn that longs for horses, cows, chariots, and wealth, has been raised high among the Pajras, like the door post. Indra alone rules over wealth and is (its) bestower.” In pāda a, *aśrāyi* has been translated by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, I, 58) as ‘gegeben’, which seems to me to be incorrect. Compare 6, 11, 5: *áśrāyi yajñáḥ sūrye ná cákṣuḥ* ‘the sacrifice has been raised high as the eye to the sun’; 5, 1, 12: *gáviṣṭhiro námasā stómam agnaú . . aśret* ‘Gaviṣṭhira, has, with adoration, raised high the hymn for Agni’; 5, 28, 1: *sámiddho agnir divi śocir aśret* ‘Agni, kindled, has raised high his light in the sky’; 4, 6, 2: *ūrdhvám bhānūm savitā devó aśret* ‘God Savitṛ has raised high his ray’; and 1, 10, 1: *gāyanti tvā gāyatrīṇó ’rcanty arkám arkīṇaḥ | brahmāṇas tvā śatakrata úd vaṁśám iva yemire* ‘The singers besing thee, the chanters chant chants; the priests, O thou that art hundred-fold wise, have raised thee high like a pole.’ The last-cited verse, it may be observed, indicates that the comparison *dūryo ná yūpaḥ* in pāda b is to be understood of *īndraḥ* also in pāda a.

Pāda b is somewhat cryptic. It is translated by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) as ‘wie ein Türpfosten ist das Preislied bei den Pajra’s’; and this is explained by him as “Das Loblied hält so fest wie der Türpfosten. Dasselbe Bild in 8, 23, 24: *stómebhiḥ sthūrayūpavát*”. But there seems to be no doubt that in this verse, the word *sthūrayūpa* is, like the word *vyaśva* in the preceding verse, *jyēṣṭhābhīr vyaśvavát*, a proper name (see Grassmann s. v., PW s.v., and Sāyaṇa) and that it has nothing to do with a ‘stout post.’ The meaning of 8, 23, 24 is, “Jetzt singe dem gewaltigen mit Lied nach

Sthūrayūpa's Art" as given by Grassmann (*RV. Ueber.*). I believe therefore that the verb *āsrāyi* in pāda a is the predicate of *stōma* and *yūpa* also in pāda b (this is the opinion of Oldenberg also; see *RV. Noten*, I) and that the tertium comparationis is 'raising high' or (*uc*) *chrayaṇa*. Compare 3, 8, 2-3: *úc chrayasva mahaté saubhagāya* || *úc chrayasva vanaspate vārṣman pṛthivyā ādhi* addressed to the sacrificial post (*yūpa*); compare likewise the expressions *ūrdhvās tiṣṭhāḥ*, *tasthivāmsaḥ*, *ín nayanti*, *unnīyāmānāḥ*, *śráyamānāḥ*, etc., used of this post in that hymn and also the other verses referred to on p. 102 of Oldenberg's *Vedaforschung* and *sthūṇārājam ucchrayati* in Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 8 (Sāyaṇa, it may be observed explains *duryo yūpaḥ* in 1, 51, 14 as *dvāri nikhātā sthūṇā*). Regarding the expression *stōmo āsrāyi*, compare 3, 14, 2: *áyāmi te náma-uktiṁ juṣasva*; 1, 153, 2: *prástutir vām dhāma ná práyuktir áyāmi mitravarunā suvṛktīḥ*; 10, 50, 6: *yajñó mántro bráhmódyatam vācaḥ*; 1, 80, 9: *índrāya bráhmódyatam*; and 1, 190, 3: *úpastutiṁ námasa údyatiṁ ca ślókam yāmsat savitēva prā bāhū* which all refer to hymns 'being raised high'; compare also 7, 83, 3: *índrāvarunā divi glhōṣa āruhat*.

The words *aśvayúḥ*, etc., are, according to Sāyaṇa, Grassmann and Ludwig, attributes of Indra. This opinion seems to me to be untenable; for it is difficult to conceive of Indra that he is 'longing for horses, cows, chariots and wealth.' I therefore agree with Geldner (*op. cit.*) in thinking that they are the attributes of *stōmaḥ* in pāda b. Compare 7, 67, 5: *prācīm u devāśvinā dhiyaṁ mé 'mṛdhrām sātāyē kṛtaṁ vasūyūm* and 1, 62, 11: *vasūyávo matáyo dasma dadruḥ* in which the epithet *vasūyu* is applied to *mati* or hymn; compare also 8, 78, 9: *tvām íd yavayúr máma kámo gavyúr hiranyayúḥ | tvām aśvayúr éṣate*.

8, 96, 3: *índrasya vājra āyasó nimisla*  
*índrasya bāhvór bhūyiṣṭham ójaḥ |*

*śīrṣānn indrasya krátavo nirékā  
āsānn eṣanta śrútyā upāké ||*

“In Indra is attached the iron Vajra (thunderbolt); in Indra's two arms is the greatest strength; in Indra's head are insights. In the sacrifice, there run remarkable (praises or offerings) into (his) near mouth.” With regard to pādas a, b, c. compare 1, 55, 8: *áprakṣitam vásu bibharṣi hástayor áṣālham sáhas tanvì śrutó dadhe | ávṛtāso 'valāso ná kartṛbhis tanúṣu te krátava indra bhūrayaḥ* “In thy hands, thou carriest inexhaustible wealth. The famed one bore invincible strength in his body. In thy body, O Indra, are many insights, concealed, like wells hidden by the makers”, and 2, 16, 2: *yásmād indrād brhatāḥ kīm caném ṛté víśvāny asmin sámblṛtādhi víryā | jaṭhāre sóman tanvì sáho máho háste vájram bhárati śīrṣāni krátum* “Without whom, the great Indra, nothing (happens), in him all might is gathered. In his belly, he bears Soma, in his body, great strength, in his hand, the thunderbolt, in his head, insight.”

The sense of pāda d is obscure. The Padapāṭha reads *śrutyai* here (as it does in 2, 2, 7: *duró ná vājam śrútyā ápā vṛdhi* and 10, 111, 3: *indraḥ kila śrútyā asyá veda*) for which Grassmann (s. v. *śrutya*) proposes *śrutyāḥ*, a suggestion which I have adopted in my above translation. Sāyaṇa explains the pāda as: *āsan āsye ca yāni karmāṇi yuddhārtham vājino gajān sannāhayatetyādīni bhavanti | kīm ca śrutyai samgrāmāya nirgacchato 'nnāsata indrasya vākya-śravaṇārtham sarva upajīvino bhrtyā upāke 'ntika eṣanta ayam indro 'smān kutra kutra kārye niyokṣyatyity etena manasā tadantike samantād āgacchanti*; and Oldenberg observes (*RV. Noten*, II): “*śrútyā*: man erwartet zunächst Nom.; in der Tat *śrútyāḥ* nicht unwahrscheinlich (vgl. Gr. WB; zu II, 2, 7; X, 111, 3): “zu seinem Mund (Lok. des Ziels) streben *śr*° (Hören); d. h. an seinem Mund hängt Hören und Gehorchen des Andern. Doch kann auch *śrútyai* (Pp) richtig sein; die *krātu* in seinem Haupt (c) strebt auf seinem Munde fort

um Gehör zu finden (so Ludw.), oder : 'nach seinem Munde drängen sich (alle) um . . zu Hören' (Geldner *Rel. Lesebuch*, 79)." These explanations seem to me to be unsatisfactory, and the more so, as there is nothing parallel to the ideas contained in them in any other verse of the RV. The word *śrutya* is used as an epithet of *brahman*, hymn, in 1, 165, 11: *āmandan mā marulaḥ stómo ātra yān me naraḥ śrútyam bráhma cakra*; and the verb is found used with *matī*, hymn, in 5, 67, 5: *tāt sú vām éṣate matīḥ*. Compare with this 6, 47, 14: *áva tvé indra praváto nórmiḥ gíro bráhmāṇi niyúto dhavante* 'in thee, O Indra, run hymns and praises in teams (i.e., many hymns of praise) as (swiftly as) the current down an incline,' and also 6, 36, 3: *samudráṁ ná síndhava ukthásuṣmā uruvyácasaṁ gíra ā viśanti*; 1, 176, 2: *tásmim ā veśayā gíro yá ékaś carṣaṇīnām* which refer to hymns running into or 'entering into' Indra. This, presumably, is through the mouth; and hence it is probable that *śrutyaḥ* refers to *giraḥ* and that the meaning of the pāda is, as given above, 'the remarkable praises run into (his) near mouth.' Regarding the expression *upāká āsán*, compare the analogous expression *upākáyor hástayor* in 1, 81, 4: *śrīvā ṛṣvā upākáyor ní śiprī hárivān dadhe hástayor vājram āyasám*.

At the same time, it must be observed that Grassmann's suggestion (l. c.), too, that *śrútyāḥ* refers to *sómāḥ*, is not improbable. Compare 3, 46, 4: *índraṁ sómāsaḥ pradīvi sutāsaḥ samudráṁ ná sraváta ā viśanti* 'into Indra enter at all times the Soma juices that have been expressed as rivers into the ocean'; 9, 85, 7: *éndraṁ viśanti madirāsa índavaḥ*; 9, 97, 36: *índram ā viśa brhatā ráveṇa*; 9, 2, 1: *índram indo vṛṣā viśa*; 9, 108, 16: *índrasya hárdisomadhānam ā viśa samudráṁ iva síndhavaḥ*; and 9, 66, 15: *éndrasya jaṭhāre viśa* in which the Soma juice is said to enter into Indra, presumably through the mouth. Compare also 7, 15, 1: *upasádyāya mīlḥuṣa āsyè juhutā havíḥ*; 7, 102, 3: *tásmā íd āsyè havir juhótā*



*mádhumattamam* ; 10, 91, 3 : *áhavy agne havír āsyè te* ; and 4, 49, 1 : *idám vām āsyè havíḥ priyám indrā-brhaspatī* in which the word *havíḥ* is used in connection with *āsyè*, 'in the mouth.' Hence it is not improbable that *śrútyāḥ* denotes 'remarkable offerings (of Soma or oblations).'

The sense of the pāda remains unchanged even if one agrees with the Padapāṭha that the word used in it is *śrútyai* and not *śrútyāḥ*. The meaning of *śrútyai* is 'so that it is heard of ; i.e., as is well-known' ; and we have still to supply as the subject of *éśantu* the word *gírah* or *sómāḥ* or *havīmṣi*. The meaning of the pāda would thus be, the 'hymns (or offerings) run, as is well-known, into (his) near mouth in the sacrifice.'

7, 18, 23 : *catvāro mā paijavanásya dānāḥ*  
*smáddiṣṭayaḥ kṛṣanínno nireké |*  
*ṛjvāso mā pṛthiviṣṭhāḥ sudāśas*  
*tokám tokāya śrávase vahanti ||*

This will be explained in the next article on *smáddiṣṭi*. Regarding *nireké*, compare 8, 4, 19 : *sthūrám rādhah śatāśvaṁ kuraṅgásya dīviṣṭiṣu* 'great is the gift, comprising hundred horses, of Kuraṅga in the sacrifices.'

7, 20, 8 : *yás ta indra priyó jáno dádāśad*  
*āsan nireké adriṇaḥ sákhā te |*  
*vayám te asyām sumataú cániṣṭhāḥ*  
*syāma vārūthe ághnato nṛpītau ||*

"The dear one, O Indra, who makes offerings to thee, may he, O thou with the thunderbolt, be thy friend in battle (i.e., when he is fighting, be thou his friend and aid him). May we be most acceptable in this thy favour, in the shelter, in the protection, of thee that art gracious." With regard to pāda b, compare 6, 33, 4 ; 4, 24, 6 ; 1, 129, 4 ; 3, 51, 9 ; and 6, 21, 8 cited above (p. 226).

7, 90, 3 : *rāyé nú yám jajñátū ródasimé*  
*rāyé devī dhiṣṇā dhāti devám |*  
*ádha vāyúm niyútaḥ saścata svā*  
*utá śvetám vásudhitim nireké ||*

“Whom these bright Heaven and Earth bore for prosperity, him, the god, the goddess Dhiṣaṇā raises high (i.e., glorifies) for prosperity. And then the own teams of Vāyu accompanied the white one, who bestows wealth, to the sacrifice.” Compare 7, 91, 6; 7, 91, 5; 7, 92, 3; and 1, 135, 7 cited above (p. 227).

8, 24, 3: *sá na stávāna ā bhara*  
*rayīm citráśravastamam |*  
*nireké cid yó harivo vásur dadīḥ ||*

“Bring to us, being praised, wealth that is most wonderful and renowned, O thou with bay horses, that bestowest wealth even in sacrifice.” Compare 1, 81, 7 and 8, 46, 15 cited above (p. 225).

*vásuḥ* here, I conceive, stands for *vásu*; see p. 107 above.

8, 33, 2: *svárantī tvā suté náro*  
*váso nirekú ukthínah |*  
*kadā sutām tṛṣṇá óka ā gama*  
*indra svabdiva vámsagah ||*

“O thou bright one, when (the Soma juice) is expressed, the men that are reciting praises, call to thee in the sacrifice. When wilt thou, O Indra, thirsting for the Soma juice, come to the house (i.e., the sacrificial place), as (swiftly as) a roaring bull (to a pool of water)” ? Regarding the simile in pāda d, compare 1, 130, 2: *pibā sómam indra suvānām ádribliḥ kóśna siktām avatām ná vámsagas tātṛṣṇó ná vámsagah*; 5, 36, 1: *sá ā gamad indro yó vásūnām ciketad dātum dāmano rayīnām | dhanvacaró ná vámsagas tṛṣṇás cakamānāḥ pibatu dugdhām amśum* and also 8, 4, 3: *yáthā gauró āpā kṛtām tṛṣyanu éty ávériṇam | āpitvé nah prapitvé tūyam ā gahi kánveṣu sú sácā píba*.

This is a word that occurs in four passages of the RV only; it is neither mentioned nor explained in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*. Sāyaṇa gives four different explanations of it,—*bhadravākya*, *praśastadarśana*, *praśastātisarjanaśraddhādidānāṅgayukta*, and *kalyāṇādeśin*. Roth explains it as 'geschult, dressiert, eingeübt' in the PW, and Grassmann as 'mit Lenkung versehen, 1) gut lenkend; 2) gut zu lenken'. Ludwig, in his *RV. Ueber.*, has interpreted it differently as 'die glück herbringen'; 'deine weisung geht hieher (=du selbst unabhängig mit herrschaft über uns)'; 'mir hier bestimmte' and 'hieher die weisung habende.' Geldner, in his *Glossar*, gives the meanings "1) dessen Weisungen gleich sind, gerecht 3, 45, 52; 2) gleichmässig geschult,—eingelernt 6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10." In his *RV. Ueber.*, however, he translates the word in 3, 45, 5 as 'gleichmässig zuteilend' and gives the following note: "*smāddiṣṭi* sonst ein technischer Ausdruck der Dānastuti's (6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10). Hier wohl in etwas anderem Sinn. *diṣṭi* ist im RV unbelegt und *smād* auch sicher nicht bestimmt. Sāy.: *bhadravākyaḥ* in dem er *smāt* im Sinn von *sumāt* nimmt." Oldenberg, on the other hand, observes ' (*RV. Noten*, I, 251): "*smāddiṣṭi* mir dunkel. Es findet sich sonst (6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10) von geschenkten Sklaven, Rossen, Stieren (?) in Dānastutis. In Bezug auf eine Schenkung heisst es V, 36, 6: *yó rōhitau vājīnau vājīnīvān tribhīḥ sataīḥ śacamānāv ādiṣṭa*: gibt dies *ādiṣṭa*, wenn es von *diś* kommt, den Schlüssel zu *smāddiṣṭi*? *diś* wäre offenbar "zuweisen"; *smāddiṣṭi* hiesse etwa "begleitet von (einem Akt der) Zuweisung."

<sup>1</sup> He also urges against Geldner's explanations (in *Glossar*) the criticisms (1) that they are not in accord with the meaning of *smāt*, and (2) that the two proposed meanings are separated by too wide a gulf.

Ein solches Wort lässt sich von Geschenke brauchen, aber auch—und das müsste hier angenommen werden—vom Schenken, der, wo er auftritt, von Taten der Freigebigkeit begleitet ist."

It is plain from the above that Geldner and Oldenberg, Sāyaṇa and Ludwig, are at sea regarding the meaning of the word; and as for the meanings proposed by Roth and Grassmann, it can be readily seen that they do not fit well into the context in all the four passages and that they are therefore incorrect.

The word *smāddiṣṭi* is a bahuvrihi compound composed of *smat* (or *smad*) and *diṣṭi*. This latter word *diṣṭi*, though it does not (as observed by Geldner) occur elsewhere in the RV, is used frequently in later literature where it has the sense of 'fate, fortune, good fortune'; see Apte. The former word *smāt* is found used in the RV only; it occurs, uncompounded, in thirteen passages, and compounded with *abhīṣu*, *ibha*, *iṣṭa*, *ūdhas*, *puramdhi* and *rātiṣāc* in one passage each, and with *diṣṭi*, in four passages. In these four passages, Sāyaṇa, as we have already seen, explains *smat* as *praśasta*, *bhadra*, or *kalyāṇa*. Likewise, in ten of the remaining passages too, (1, 51, 15; 5, 41, 15; 5, 41, 19; 5, 87, 8; 7, 3, 8; 8, 18, 4; 8, 20, 18; 8, 25, 24; 8, 26, 19; 8, 28, 2) he declares it to be a synonym of, or explains it as, *su-*, *praśasta* or *śobhana*. In explaining 1, 186, 6, he writes: *smat sahārthe prāśastye vā vartate | atra praśamsāyām*; and he regards it as the equivalent of *saha* in 8, 186, 8 and 8, 34, 6 and of *saha* or *praśasta* in 7, 87, 3. In 1, 100, 13, he explains it as *bhṛṣam*, in 2, 4, 9 as *ati-prabhūtam*, in 10, 61, 8, as *asmattaḥ*, and in 1, 73, 6 as *nitya* (*smac-chabdo nitya-śabda-samānārthaḥ*); in 10, 42, 4 he regards *smadibha* as a proper name.

The meanings *atiprabhūta*, *bhṛṣa*, *nitya* and *asmattaḥ* seem to have been invented by Sāyaṇa for the occasion and need not be considered seriously. The meanings

*śobhana* (*praśasta*, *su-*) and *saha*, on the other hand, belong to a different category; and in fact, it is the opinion of Roth (PW), Grassmann, Wackernagel (*Ai. Gr.* II. 1.p.287), Macdonell (*Vcd. Gr.* p. 424), Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* II, p. 7) and other European exegetists, that *smāt* is a synonym of *saha*, while, for my part, I am inclined to prefer the meaning *śobhana*. See below.

As far as the compound word *smāddiṣṭi* is concerned, its meaning remains the same whether one regards *smāt* as the equivalent of *saha* or of *śobhana*. In the former case, the word means 'accompanied by good luck,' and in the latter case, 'having good luck.' In either case, therefore, the word *smāddiṣṭi* means 'with good luck; having good luck.'

The good luck that is referred to here is that caused, or brought, by auspicious marks; for it is the belief of the Indian Aryans that certain marks on the body, borne by men, women, horses, dogs, cocks, etc., bring good or bad luck to the possessor. Such belief, for instance, is alluded to in Āśvalāyana's words (GS. 1, 5, 3): *buddhi-rūpa-śīla-lakṣaṇa-saṁpañnām arogām upa-yaccheta* which enjoin that the girl one marries must have *lakṣaṇāni* or auspicious marks on her body. A similar injunction is contained in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1, 52 : *avipluta-brahmacaryo lakṣaṇyām striyam udvahet*; while Śāṅkh. GS. 1, 5 : *kumāryai pāṇīm grhṇīyāt | yā lakṣaṇa-saṁpañnā syāt | yasyā abhyātman aṅgāni syuḥ samāḥ keśāntāḥ | āvartāv api yasyai syātām pradakṣiṇau grīvā-yām | ṣaḍ vīrān janayiṣyatīti vidyāt* specifies some of the auspicious marks and Manu (3, 8-10): *nālomikām nātīlo-mām . . na piṅgalām haṁsa-vāraṇa-gāminīm tanuloma-keśa-daśanām mṛdvaṅgīm* describes some of the inauspicious as also auspicious marks of a girl.

AV. 1, 18 : *nīr lakṣmyām lalāmyām*  
*nīr ūrātīm suvāmasi |*  
*ātha yā bhadrā tāni naḥ*

*prajāyā ārātim* (for *saṁ* ?) *nayāmasi* !  
*nīr āraṇim savitā sāviṣat padōr*  
*nīr hāstayor vāruṇo mitrō aryamā* |  
*nīr asmābhyam ānumatī rārāṇā*  
*prēmām devā asāviṣuḥ saubhagāya* ||  
*yāt ta ātmāni tanvām ghorām āsti*  
*yād vā kéṣeṣu praticákṣaṇe vā* |  
*sārvam tād vācā 'pa hanmo vayām*  
*devās tvā savitā sūdayatu* ||  
*rīśyapadim vṣadatim*  
*goṣedhām vidhamām utá* |  
*viliḍhvām lalāmyām*  
*tā asmān nāśayāmasi* || <sup>2</sup>

is a charm against unlucky marks : the gods Savitr, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman and Anumati are implored to remove, *i.e.*, to render innocuous, the evil marks (in a woman's body according to Kauśika-sūtra 42, 19 : *nīr lakṣmyam iti pāpa-lakṣaṇāyā mukham ukṣaty anurcam dakṣiṇāt keśa-stukāt*) and to confer *bhadrāṇi* and *saubhagam* (*i.e.*, auspicious marks) on her. Similarly, Ap.MB. 1, 1, 3 : *ābhrātṛghnīm varuṇāpatiḥgnīm brhaspate* | *indrāputraghnīm lakṣmyām tām asyaī savitah suva* refers to marks that presage good to brothers, husband and sons, and *ibid.* 1, 10, 3 : *yā 'syām patighnī tanuḥ prajā-*

<sup>2</sup> This hymn is translated thus by Whitney (*AV. Translation*, p. 19):—

“Out we drive the pallid sign, out the niggard; then whatever things are excellent, those we lead together for our progeny. Savitar has driven out the trouble in her feet; out have Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman [driven] [that] in her hands; out hath Anumati, bestowing upon us; the gods have driven this woman forward unto good fortune. Whatever in thy self, in thy body, is frightful, or what in hair or in mien - all that do we smite away with [our] words; let god Savitar advance thee. The antelope-footed, the bull-toothed, the kine-repelling, the out-blowing, the licked-out, the pallid - these we make disappear from us.”

Geldner's view (*Ved. St.*, 1, 314 ff.) that the whole hymn is concerned with the domestic cat seems to me untenable.

*ghnī paśughnī lakṣmighnī jāraghnīm asyai tām kṛṇomi* refers to the body, i.e., without doubt, to the bodymarks, that forebode destruction and death of husband, children, cattle and wealth. Similarly, there is no doubt that the expressions *āpatighnī* and *śivā paśúbhyaḥ* in ṚV. 10, 85, 14: *āghoracakṣur āpatighny edhi śivā paśúbhyaḥ sumānāḥ suvārcāḥ* have the same meaning as the words *āpatighnī*, etc., have in Ap. MB. 1, 1, 3 cited above and refer to bodily marks that presage good to husband and cattle.

A detailed description of such bodily marks and of their effects is given in Agnipurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Bṛhat-saṁhitā and other such works. In the last-mentioned book, ch. 69 deals with *kanyālakṣaṇa*, and Varāhamihira observes in verse 1, after enumerating some auspicious marks, that the person who marries the girl with such marks would become king (*tām udvaledh yadi bhuvō 'dhipatitvam icchet*), and in verse 3, that the marks described therein bring the possessor much wealth (*vipulām śriyam ādadadhāti*). The commentator Bhaṭṭotpala too cites in the course of his commentary on the 3rd and 4th verses, the following observations of Samudra: *nābhi-deśaḥ suguptaś ca yasyāḥ sā dhana-bhāginī; jaghnam vipulam yasyāḥ susparśam romavarjitam | suvarṇā-bharaṇair yuktā sā bhaved rājya-bhāginī*. Similarly, Varāhamihira observes in *ibid*, 61.1-2, with reference to some auspicious marks of the dog and the bitch: *yasya syāt sa karoti poṣṭur acirāt puṣṭām śriyam śvā gṛhe* and *yā sā rāṣṭram kukkurī pāti puṣṭā* (i.e., the owner of such bitch becomes the ruler of a kingdom), and in 62.3, with reference to a hen having auspicious marks: *sā dadāti suciram mahikṣitām śrī-yaśo-vijaya-vīrya-sampadaḥ*. In *ibid*. 63.2, he describes some auspicious marks of tortoises and remarks of a tortoise having such, that it causes the expansion of the kingdom (*so 'pi nṛpāṇām rāṣṭra-vivṛddhyai*) and Bhaṭṭotpala cites, in his commentary on 63.3, the verse: *stri-putra-matidam vidyāt*

*kūrman rāṣṭra-vivardhanam*. In *ibid.* 64.9, Varāhamihira, after describing four kinds of well-favoured goats, writes, *te catvāraḥ śrīyaḥ putrā nālakṣmīke vasanti te*; and in 60.18 observes of a bull with auspicious marks that he brings wealth to his owner (*svāminam acirāt kurute patim lakṣmyāḥ*).

*smāddiṣṭi* thus primarily signifies 'possessing auspicious marks that bring to the possessor good luck (i.e., *śrī*, *yaśaḥ*, *viṣaya*, *vīrya*, *rājya*, *strī*, *putra*, *buddhi*, etc., as described above).' Since however the possession of auspicious marks makes for beauty also, the word has the secondary sense of 'handsome, beautiful.' It is a synonym of the words *bhadra*, *kalyāṇa*, *maṅgala*, *śobhana*, (cf. Amara-kośa 133: *bhadram kalyāṇam maṅgalam śubham*), *subhaga* and *subhāga*<sup>3</sup> all which mean 'having good luck; handsome, beautiful.'

I shall now show that the above-mentioned two meanings fit well into the context in all the passages in which *smāddiṣṭi* occurs.

3, 45, 5: *svayūr indra svarāḥ asi*  
*smāddiṣṭiḥ svāyaśastarah |*  
*sā vāvṛdhānā ōjasā puruṣtuta*  
*bhāvā naḥ suśrāvastamah ||*

"Thou, O Indra, goest wherever thou listest; thou art sovereign, handsome and very famous. O thou that art much praised, be our best hearer, growing in strength." The word *svayūr* in pāda a is obscure. If one interprets it in the manner of *aśvayú*, *vasūyú*, *rathayú*, etc., the meaning would be, 'eager for one's own self,' which is not very intelligible. The word occurs again in

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<sup>3</sup> *bhāga* means also 'luck, fortune'; see Apte and compare the words *bhāgya* and *bhāgadheya*. There is thus no doubt that *subhāga* signifies 'having good luck; handsome' in the RV verses in which it is used and that Grassmann is wrong in explaining it as 'schönem Antheil, schönes Gut besitzend' in his *Wörterbuch*.



2, 4, 7 : *sá yó vy ásthād abhi dáksad urvīm paśúr naiti svayúr ágopāḥ* where it is said of Agni that he spreads himself on the earth, burning, and that he is *svayú*, like a cow without a cowherd. *svayú* seems to denote here, 'one who goes wherever one lists' and I have hence so explained it in 3, 45, 5 also.

*sváyaśastara* = *súyaśastara* (see p. 44) and not 'selbstbewusst' as Geldner translates in his *RV. Ueber. smāddiṣṭi* = having auspicious marks, handsome; compare the epithets *bhadrá* and *susamḍýś* that are applied to Indra in 1, 82, 3 : *susamḍýśam tvā vayám mágghavan vandiṣīmáhi* and 1, 132, 2 : *áhann índro yáthā vidé śīrṣṇā-śīrṣṇopavācyah | asmatrá te sadhryúk santu rātáyo bhadrá bhadráśya rātáyah*.

6, 63, 9 : *utá ma ṛjré púrayasya raghvī  
sumīlhé śatám peruké ca pákvā |  
śāṇḍó dad dhiraṇínah smāddiṣṭin  
dása vāsāso abhiṣāca ṛṣvān ||*

"And [were given] to me two swift mares by Puraya, a hundred by Sumīḍha, and cooked foods by Peruka. Śāṇḍa gave ten oxen, big, obedient (?), having auspicious marks, and adorned with gold ornaments." Regarding the auspicious marks of oxen, see ch. 60 of *Br̥hat-samhitā*; and regarding the gift of oxen decked with golden ornaments, compare *Mahābhārata* 1, 216, 7 : [*Pāṇḍubhyah prāhiṇod dhariḥ*] *dāntān sauvarṇaiḥ śubhraiḥ paṭṭair alamkṛtān*.

7, 18, 23 : *catvāro mā paijavanásya dānāḥ  
smāddiṣṭayah kṛśanīno nireké |  
ṛjīāso mā pṛthiviṣṭhāḥ sudāsa  
tokāni tokāya śrāvase vahanti ||*

"The four fleet horses, decked with golden ornaments and having auspicious marks, given to me by Sudās, son of Pijavana, in the sacrifice, being on the earth, carry me (and my) offspring to offspring and

renown." Regarding the auspicious marks of horses, see ch. 65 of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. *nircké*=*vāje*, in the sacrifice.

The import of the second hemistich is not clear and the word *pr̥thiviṣṭhāḥ* in pāda c is perplexing. Geldner, in his *Glossar*, gives the word as *pr̥thiviṣṭhā* (though the *Saṁhitā* and *Padapāṭha* both have °*ṭhāḥ*) 'auf der Erde stehend' but does not indicate with what word it is to be construed. Ludwig regards it as an irregular genitive singular referring to *Sudās*, who, according to him, stays on the earth 'ausz hochachtung' ! It seems plain that the word is an epithet of *ṛjṛāsah* or horses, and I have so explained it in my above translation. I cannot see, however, any force in the word, and I am inclined to believe that the opposite of *pr̥thiviṣṭhāḥ*, namely, *diviṣṭhāḥ*, would be much more appropriate here; compare the expression *divi dhāvamānam* used of a horse in *Kaurayāṇa's* *Dānastuti* of *Medhyātithi Kāṇva* in 8, 3, 21: *yām me dur indro marútaḥ pākasthāmā kaurayāṇaḥ | víśveṣām tmānā śóbhiṣṭham úpeva divi dhāvamānam*.

Regarding the words *mā . . . tokam* in this hemistich, I have followed Geldner (*Kommentar*) in understanding it as 'me (and my) offspring'; *Sāyaṇa*, however, regards *tokam* as an attribute of *mā* (*tokam putravat pālaniyam mām vasiṣṭham*); and similarly Oldenberg too (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 23) suggests the explanation, "(mich) der ich (selbst) das kind (eines berühmten, ähnlich erfolgreichen Vaters) bin."

10, 62, 10: *utá dāsā parivīṣe*  
*smáddiṣṭi gópariṇasā |*  
*yádus turvās ca māmaha ||*

"And *Yadu* and *Turva* gave me for my service two handsome slaves, supplemented by cows (*i.e.*, in addition to cows)." Regarding the gift of slaves, compare, 8, 56, 3: *śatām me gardabhānām śatām ūrṇāvatīnām | śatām dāsān āti srújah* and also the following verses:

. . . . . *tadā rājā Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ ||*  
*. eko ratho vāraṇa eka eva*

*daśāśva-saṁkhyāś ca suvarṇa-bhāraḥ |*  
*śatam gavām hema-vibhūṣaṇānām*  
*prasthaś ca datto vara-mauktikānām |*  
*ekaikaśo bhṛtya-catustayaṁ ca*  
*kāryeṣu dakṣaṁ sa dadau nṛpendraḥ ||*  
*ṛtvigbhyah . . . .*

in Jaiminiyāśvamedha (64,46-48 ; p. 152a) which describe the gifts made by King Yudhiṣṭhira to the priests who officiated in his *aśvamedha* sacrifice.

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With reference to the word *smāt*, I have already observed on p. 237 above that it is the opinion of Sāyaṇa (on 1, 186, 6-8 ; 7, 87, 3), Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg and other exegetists that it is the equivalent of *saha*, a meaning, which, it must be acknowledged, fits fairly satisfactorily into the context in all the verses in which the word occurs. I have also observed that Sāyaṇa (on 1, 51, 15 ; 5, 41, 15 ; etc.) has explained the word as the equivalent of *su-*, *praśasta*, *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra* and that, for my part, I am inclined to believe that this is the real meaning of the word. The reasons for such belief are as follow :

1. It is the opinion of Sāyaṇa, given expression to in the course of his commentary on 2, 4, 9 (*smat sumad ati-prabhūtam*), 8, 26, 19 (*smat sumat śobhanam*), 8, 25, 24 (*smat sumad ukāra-lopaś chāndasaḥ*) and 8, 28, 2 (*smat sumat śobhanā*) that *smat* is identical with *sumat*. A like opinion is expressed by Roth, too, who writes (PW ; s.v. *sumat*) “ Wir halten es für eine andere Aussprache von *smat* ” ; and similarly Oldenberg, too, observes (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 76) : “ Dass Identität von *sumat* und *smat* aufzugeben ist (Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2, 190 ; Bartholomae BB. 17, 115), bezweifle ich. Der Gebrauch beider Worte zeigt zu auffallende Gleichartigkeit,” and draws attention to the similar formation of the compounds *sumādratha* and *smād-abhīṣu*, and of the sentences *sīdatām sumat* and

*smat sadantu, smac caranti ye.* This opinion seems to me to be justified and I agree with the above-named savants that *smát* is identical with *sumát*.

This word *sumát*, too, it is true, is explained by Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, and other exegetists as the equivalent of *saha*.<sup>4</sup> But Geldner has, in his short article on this word in *Ved. St.* 2, p. 190, pointed out that Sāyaṇa interprets it as *śobhana* or *kalyāṇa* in his commentary on 2, 36, 3; 3, 3, 9; 8, 45, 39; 87, 4; and 10, 32, 3, and expressed the opinion that *sumat* can be best explained as *śobhana*. It is his belief that this word is derived from *su* with the suffix *mat* and means 'schön;' and in support of such conclusion, he points to the parallelism of *sumádratha*, used in 3, 3, 9 and 8, 45, 39 of Agni and *harī* with *surátha* used likewise of Agni and *harī* in 4, 2, 4 and 7, 36, 4.

This parallelism is by itself significant enough; but in addition we find the word *bhadrá-jānayaḥ* in 5, 61, 4 is parallel to *sumáj-jāni* that occurs in 1, 156, 2 and *bhadrá-vrāta* in 10, 47, 5 to *sumád-gaṇa* which occurs in 2, 36, 3; and the word *sumád-amśu* too, applied to a mare in 1, 100, 6 seems to be parallel to *sutúka* and *svānc* that are applied to horses in 10, 3, 7 and 7, 56, 16. Hence there does not seem to be any doubt that *sumat* is, as said by Geldner, equivalent to *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra*; and I shall show presently that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages in which the word occurs. Since however *smat* is identical with *sumat*, it follows that *smat* too signifies *kalyāṇa*, *śobhana* or *bhadra*.

2. A like conclusion is pointed to by the parallelism of some compounds beginning with *smát* also. To the

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<sup>4</sup> The other explanations proposed for this word which is enumerated in the *Nighaṇṭu* (4,3) are:—*svayam* (Yāska in *Nirukta* 6, 22, 3; Durga and Devarāja); *svayam* or *svataḥ* (Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 142, 7; 162, 7; 5, 2, 4; 1, 100, 16) and *suṣṭhu mādyanti hr̥ṣyanti* (Sāyaṇa on TS. 4, 6, 8, 3; Mahidhara on VS. 26, 24). See Geldner, l. c.

word *smād-abhīṣu*, used of a horse in 8, 25, 24 corresponds the word *svabhīṣu* used likewise of horses in 8, 68, 16-18; to the word *smād-diṣṭi* correspond, as already pointed out above, the words *subhāga* and *subhāgā*; and to the word *smād-rātiṣācaḥ* 'conferring splendid gifts' in 8, 28, 2: *vāruṇo mitrō aryamā smādrātiṣāco agnāyaḥ* corresponds *surātāyaḥ* in 9, 81, 4: *ā naḥ pūṣā pāvamānaḥ surātāyo mitrō gacchantu vāruṇaḥ sajoṣasaḥ*.

It is therefore my belief that *sumāt* or *smāt* is the equivalent of *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra*; and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all passages. I shall begin with those in which the form *sumat* occurs.

1, 100, 16: *rohīc chyāvā sumād-amśur lalāmīr  
dyukṣā rāyā rjṛāśvasya |  
vṣṣavantaṁ bibhratī dhūrśu rātham  
mandrā ciketa nāhuṣīṣu vikṣu ||*

"The red brown (mare) of fine speed, bright (*i.e.*, glossy), pleasing, having a spot on the forehead, that has been given to Rjṛāśva and draws the chariot yoked with a steer has attracted notice among the Nahus clans." *sumād-amśu* in pāda a is somewhat ambiguous. Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translates it as 'schöngezeichnet (?)' and observes: "*sumād-amśu*; mit schönen oder gleichmässigen *amśu* versehen, *amśu* unbekannt, ob von der Zeichnung oder sonstigen Zieraten des Tiers?" Apte, in his *Dictionary*, assigns to this word the meanings, among others, of (1) lustre, brilliance; (2) speed; and (3) garment, decoration; and I have in the above translation, preferred the meaning 'speed.' Compare the epithets *sutuka*, and *svāñc*, both meaning 'fine-going, *i.e.*, swift' that are applied to horses in 10, 3, 7: *agnīḥ sutūkaḥ sutūkebhir āsvaiḥ* and 7, 56, 16: *ātyāso nā yé marūtaḥ svāñcaḥ*. It is however possible that the poet may have used the word *amśu* here in the sense of 'lustre, brilliance' (cp. the epithet *śobhiṣṭham* applied to

a horse in 8, 3, 21 : *vīśveṣām tmānā śóbhiṣṭham úpeva divi dhāvamānam* ; compare also the epithet *candrāmśu-sama-varcasām* in the Mahābhārata passage, 1, 247, 40 cited below) or of 'garment, decoration' ; compare the epithets *hiraṇināḥ* and *kṛṣanīnāḥ* in 6, 63, 2 and 7, 18, 23 cited above. Compare also 8, 68, 16 : *surāthāñ ātithigvé svabhīśūñr ārkṣé | āśvamedhé supésasaḥ* and Māhabhārata 1, 216, 17 : [*Pāṇḍubhyaḥ prāhiṇod dhariḥ*] *gajān vinītān bhadramś ca sad-aśvāmś ca svalamkṛtān | rathāmś ca dāntān sauvarṇaiḥ śubhraiḥ paṭṭair alamkṛtān* ; *ibid.* 1, 247, 40 : *vāḍavānām ca śuddhānām candrāmśu-sama-varcasām | dadau Janārdanaḥ prītyā sahasraṁ hema-bhūṣitam ||*

1, 156, 2 : *yāḥ pūrvyāya vedhāse nāvīyase  
sumāj-jānaye viṣṇave dādāṣati |  
yó jātām asya maható máhi brávat  
séd u śrávobhir yújyam cid abhy āsat ||*

"He who makes offerings to Viṣṇu, the old, very young, wise one, that has a beautiful wife ; he who announces the great birth of this great one, he will surpass even his friend in renown." As observed above, *sumāj-jāni* is the synonym of *bhadra-jāni* that occurs in 5, 61, 4 : *pārā vīrāsa etana mār्याso bhādra-jānayaḥ*, and means 'he who has a beautiful wife.' It is very probable that, in both verses, the beautiful wives are thought of as accompanying their husbands. Geldner's translation of the word as 'dem die Frauen lieb sind' (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 193) seems to me to be incorrect : so far as we know, *-jāni* denotes 'wife' and not 'woman' and *smāt* does not mean 'lieb.'

2, 36, 3 : *āmeva naḥ suhavā ā hí gāntana  
nī barhīṣi sadatanā rāṇiṣṭana |  
āthā mandasva jujuṣāṇó āndhasas  
tvāṣṭar devébhir jānibhiḥ sumād-gaṇaḥ ||*

"Come to us as to your house, O ye that are easy to call (*i.e.*, ye that at once hear our call) ; sit on the

*barhis* and be glad. Rejoice, finding pleasure in the drink, O Tvaṣṭr that hast a glorious following of gods and (their) wives." *sumād-gaṇaḥ* is, as already observed, a synonym of *bhadrā-vrāta* which occurs in 10, 47, 5: *bhadrā-vrātaṃ vipravīraṃ svarṣāṃ*.

3, 3, 9: *vibhāvā devāḥ surāṇaḥ pāri kṣitīr*  
*agnīr babhūva śūvasā sumād-rathaḥ |*  
*tāsyā vrātāni bhūri-pośūṇo vayām*  
*ūpa bhūṣema dāma ā suvṛktibhiḥ ||*

"The bright happiness-bringing god with the beautiful chariot, Agni, has, through his might, encompassed protectingly (all) men. Of him who nourishes many, we shall honour the ordinances with hymns in our dwelling." With regard to *sumād-ratha*, compare the epithets *suratha*, *hiranya-ratha*, and *candra-ratha* applied to Agni in 4, 2, 4: *sv-āśvo agne surāthaḥ surādhā éd u vaha suhaviṣe jánāya*; 4, 1, 8: *sá dūtó viśvéd abhī vaṣṭi sádmā hótā hīranyaratho rámsujihvaḥ*; and 1, 141, 12: *utá naḥ sudyótmā jirāśvo hótā mandráḥ śṛṇavac candrārathaḥ*.

8, 56, 5: *ácety agnīs cikitūr*  
*havyavāt sá sumádrathaḥ |*  
*agnīḥ śukréṇa śocíṣā*  
*bṛhát súro arocata*  
*diví súryo arocata ||*

"Agni, the carrier of offerings, wise, who has a beautiful chariot, has been perceived. Agni shone high (as) the sun with bright light; he shone in heaven (as) the sun."

8, 45, 39: *ā ta etā vacoyújā*  
*hārī gròhne sumádrathā |*  
*yád īm brahmābhya íd dádaḥ ||*

"I take hold of these thy two bay horses with the beautiful chariot (*i.e.*, that draw the beautiful chariot), that yoke themseves at word, and that thou gavest to the

priests." Compare, in respect, of *pādas* a and b, 7, 36, 4 : *girā yá etā yunājad dhārī ta indra priyā surāthā sūra dhāyū* ; compare also 1, 56, 1 : *dákṣam mahé pāyayate hiraṇyāyam rátham āvṛtyā háriyogam íbhvasam* and other similar passages in which Indra's chariot is described as 'golden'.

1, 142, 7 : *ā bhándamāne úpāke*  
*náktoṣāsā supéśasā |*  
*yahvī ṛtasya mātārā*  
*sídatām barhír ā sumát ||*

" May Night and Dawn, refulgent, near to each other, adorned with jewels, always moving, mothers of *ṛta*, sit on the beautiful *barhis*." *barhiḥ sumat* = 'das schöne *barhis*,' as Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) has rightly translated. Compare the expressions *syonām barhiḥ* in 10, 110, 4 ; *surabhi bhūtv asmé . . barhiḥ* in 10, 70, 4 and the epithet *su-* in the term *subarhis* which occurs in 1, 74, 5 and 8, 20, 25. The meaning of *yahvá* is not quite certain and my translation, 'always moving,' is merely tentative.

1, 162, 7 : *úpa prāgāt sumān me 'dhāyi mānma*  
*devānām āsā úpa vītápr̥sthah |*  
*ānv enām víprā íṣayo madanti*  
*devānām puṣṭé cakṛmā subándhum ||*

" He [*sc.* the sacrificial horse] has gone—a fine hymn has been made and offered by me—to the region of the gods, he who has a comfortable back. The inspired seers glorify him. We have made him our mate in the nourishing of the gods." Regarding *sumat manma*, compare the expressions *cārur matiḥ* and *sundhyūr matiḥ* in 9, 91, 14 : *hṛdā matīm janaye cārum agnāye* ; 6, 8, 1 : *vaiśvānarāya matir nāvyaśi śūciḥ sóma iva pavate cārur agnāye* ; 7, 88, 1 : *prā sundhyúvam vārunāya prēsthām matīm vasiṣṭha mīlhūṣe bharasva* and the terms *sūktá*, *suṣṭutí* and *sumatí* (for references see Grassmann s.v.) meaning 'beautiful hymn.'



8, 87, 4 : *píbatam sómam mádhumanam ásvinā*  
*barhīḥ sīdatam sumāt |*  
*tā vāvṛdhānā ūpa suṣṭutīm divó*  
*gantām gaurāv ivériṇam ||*

“Drink, O ye two Ásvins, the sweet Soma juice. Sit on the beautiful *barhis*. Making our hymn glorious, come ye here from heaven (as swift) as two buffaloes go to the hole (filled with water; to slake their thirst).” *ivériṇam*=hole (filled with water); see Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 224. The tertium comparationis in the simile here is swiftness; compare 8, 4, 3 : *yáthā gauró apā kṛtām tṛṣyanu éty ávériṇam | āpitvé naḥ prāpitvé tūyām ā gahi káṇveṣu sú sácā piba*. And hence it also becomes plain that it is not to the hymn, *suṣṭuti* (as Sāyaṇa, Ludwig and Pischel l.c. opine) that the Ásvins are exhorted to come quickly, but to the Soma juice mentioned in pāda a; compare also in this connection 7, 69, 6 : *nārā gauréva vidyútam tṛṣāṇā 'smākam adyá savanópa yātam* and 8, 35, 7-9 : *sómam sutām mahiṣé-vāva gacchathaḥ*. The word *suṣṭutīm* is to be construed with *vāvṛdhānā* which is used in the causative sense (and *upa* with *gantam*); compare 10, 25, 10 : *matīm víprasya vardhayat* and 8, 36, 7 : *índra bráhmāṇi vardháyan*. The meaning of the expression *suṣṭutīm vāvṛdhānā* is ‘making glorious the hymn’; that is, ‘making known that the hymn is potent and has achieved its object by bestowing favours upon us.’

5, 2, 4 : *kṣétrād apaśyam sanutás cārantam*  
*sumád yūthám ná purú śóbhamānam |*  
*ná tā agrbhṛann ájaniṣṭa hí śáh*  
*páliknīr id yuvatáyo bhavanti ||*

“I saw him very splendid-looking like a noble herd moving away from the field. They (*fem.*) did not seize him, for he was born; the grey-haired women became young.” Hymn 5.2, in which this verse occurs, is obscure and very diverse views have been expressed about its import; see Sieg's *Sagenstoffe des RV.*, p. 66 ff.;

Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 368; and *RV. Noten*, I, 311, and the literature cited therein. I am not therefore at all certain that the translation given above is in conformity with the idea which the poet had in his mind when he composed the above verse. I do not know who are meant by *tāḥ* in pāda c, nor what connection they have with the 'grey-haired women that became young' (or 'the youthful women that became grey-haired') mentioned in pāda d. The comparison in the first hemistich, too, is obscure; and in fact, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, l.c. doubts whether there is a comparison there. Compare, however, Kirātārjuniya, 4, 10: *upārataḥ paścima-rātri-gocarād apārayantaḥ patitum javena gām | tam utsukāś cakrur avekṣaṇotsukam gavām gaṇāḥ prasruta-pīvaraudhasaḥ* in which the herds of kine moving away from the fields in which they had grazed (towards home) are described as making Arjuna 'desirous of seeing them,' i.e., as having been 'worthy of being seen' or 'beautiful.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>One particular beauty that is referred to by the above verse as being worthy of admiration in the herds of cows, is their large udders that were oozing milk. The large udder of the cow is mentioned in Raghuvamśa 2, 18: *āpīna-bhārodvahana-prayatnād grṣṭir gurutvād vapuṣo narendrah | ubhāv alamcakratur añcitābhyām tapo-vanāvṛtti-patham gatābhyām* also. In *ibid*, 1, 82-84:

*anindyā Nandinī nāma dhenur āvavṛte vanāt ||  
lalāṭodayam ābhugnam pallava-sniḡdha-pāṭalā |  
bibhratī śveta-romāṅkam sandhyeva śaśinaṁ navam ||  
bhuvam koṣṇena kuṇḍodhni medhyenāvabhṛthād api |  
prasraveṇābhivarṣanti vatsālaka-pravartinā ||*

not only the large udder overflowing with milk, but the white crescent-like mark on the forehead are mentioned as points of beauty.

The large udder, it may be observed, is associated with the moving away (towards home) from the grazing pasture, because it is only after the cow has grazed its fill that its udder becomes filled with milk and large in size. Hence the express mention of 'moving away from the field' in RV. 5, 2, 4 and in the verses cited above from the Kirātārjuniya and Raghuvamśa.

With *sumat* in 5, 2, 4, should be compared the word *anindyā* (Mallinātha: *anindyā praśastā*) in Raghuv. 1, 82 cited above, and *puṇya-darśanā* in *ibid*, 1, 86.

10, 32, 3 : *tād in me chantsad vāpuṣo vāpuṣṭaram*  
*putrō yāj jānam pitrōr adhīyati |*  
*jāyā pātim vahati vagnūnā sumāt*  
*pumsā id bhadrō vahatūh pāriṣkṛtaḥ |*

“That the son should remember the birth of his parents,—this has seemed to me more remarkable than what is remarkable. The beautiful wife marries the husband with a shout; a splendid wedding has been made ready for the man.” The sense of this verse is not very clear; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, 237. *vapuṣo vāpuṣṭaram* = *citrāc citrataram* or most remarkable. *vagnu*, shout, in pāda c, denotes perhaps a ‘shout of joy’ and *sumāt*, in the same pāda, refers, I conceive, to *jāyā* rather than to *vagnu* as Sāyaṇa and Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2, 190) opine. It corresponds to *bhadrā vadhūh* in 10, 27, 12 : *bhadrā vadhūr bhavati yāt supésāḥ* and *sumaṅgalīr vadhūh* in 10, 85, 33 : *sumaṅgalīr iyām vadhūr imām samēta pāśyata*.

1, 73, 6 : *ṛtāsya hī dhenāvo vāvaśānāḥ*  
*smādūdhnīḥ pīpāyanta dyūbhaktāḥ |*  
*parāvātaḥ sumatīm bhīkṣamānā*  
*vī sindhavaḥ samāyā sasrur ādrim |*

“The lowing milch-cows of ṛta (*i.e.*, that follow ṛta) that are bestowed by heaven and have fine udders, have oozed (milk). Begging for favour from afar, the rivers have burst though the midst of the rocks.” *smādūdhnīḥ* = *śobhanodhnīḥ*, having fine, that is, large, udders; see note on p. 250 above, and compare also Raghuvamśa 2, 49 : *gāḥ koṭīśaḥ sparśayato ghaṭodhnīḥ*. The verse is addressed to Agni and refers to the milch-cow and the waters that are necessary for the offering of oblations. *vāvaśānāḥ* in pāda a is ambiguous; it may mean ‘lowing’ (as translated above) or ‘longing for: eager.’ See pp. 85 ff. above.

7, 87, 3 : *pāri spāśo vāruṇasya smādiṣṭā*  
*ubhé paśyanti ródasī suméke |*

*ṛtāvānaḥ kavāyo yajñādhīrāḥ*  
*prācetaso yā iṣāyanta mānma ||*

“The swift-moving spies of Varuṇa survey the two beautiful worlds, Heaven and Earth,—they who inspire thoughts, who are wise, far-seeing, followers of the Law, (and) knowers of the sacrifice.” *smadiṣṭāḥ* = *śobhana-gamanāḥ* as Sāyaṇa has explained; that is, swift-moving. Compare the epithets *bhūrṇayaḥ*, *iṣirāsaḥ* and *svaṇcaḥ* that are applied to *spāsaḥ* in 9, 73, 4: *úsyā spāso ná ní miṣanti bhūrṇayaḥ* and 9, 73, 7: *rudrāsa eṣām iṣirāso adrúhaḥ spāsaḥ svāñcaḥ sudṛṣo nṛcākṣasaḥ*.

8, 25, 24: *smādabhīṣū kāsāvantā*  
*vīprā náviṣṭhaya matī |*  
*mahó vājínāv ūrvantā sácāsanam ||*

“O ye wise [Mitra and Varuṇa], I have, through my latest hymn, obtained plenty of wealth and two fleet racers with beautiful reins and whips.” *smād-abhīṣu* = *sv-abhīṣú*; compare 8, 68, 16; 18: *suráthāñ ātithigvė svabhīṣūñr ārkṣė | āśvamedhė supėśasaḥ || aīṣu cetad vīṣaṇvaty antār ṛjreṣv āruṣi | svabhīṣúḥ kāsāvatī*.

The word *vīprā* in pāda b has caused some difficulty to the exegetists. Sāyaṇa regards it as accusative dual and explains it as—*vīprā vīprau medhāvinau | medhāvī stotā yathā stutyam devam stutibhiḥ prīṇayati tadvat samtoṣakau*. So also does Ludwig who however translates the verse as, ‘zugleich gewann ich die beiden [göttlichen] Brāhmaṇa mit hieher gewandtem zügel mit der geizel in der hand und die beiden groszen kraftvollen renner’ and thus makes out that the *vīprā* or two Brāhmaṇas formed part of the gift which the poet received! Grassman (s.v. *vīprā*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, 83), on the other hand, regard it as feminine instrumental singular (and attribute of *matī*). It seems to me however that the most natural course by far is to regard it as vocative dual, referring to Mitra and Varuṇa to whom the hymn is addressed; compare for instance 8, 68, 15:

*ṛjṛāv indrotá ā dade hārī ṛkṣasya sūnāvi | āśvamedhāsya rōhitā* and 6, 47, 22: *prastoká in nú rādhasas ta indra dāśa kōsayīr dāśa vajīno dāt* in which the vocative *indra* is used in Dānastutis. Compare also 1, 2, 9: *kavi no mitrāvāruṇā tuviṣātā uṛukṣāyā* and 5, 71, 2: *vīśvasya hī pracetasā vāruṇa mitra rājathah* in which the epithets *kavi* and *pracetasā*, meaning *viprā*, are applied to Mitra and Varuṇa and also 6, 68, 3: *tā gr̥ṇīhi namasyēbhiḥ sūśatīḥ sumnébhir indrāvāruṇā cakānā | vājrenānyāḥ śāvasā hānti vṛtrām śīśakty anyo vṛjāneṣu viprah* and 7, 88, 4-6: *stotāram viprah sudinatvé āhnām . . yandhī śmā vipra stuvatē vārūtham* in which the epithet *vipra* is applied to Varuṇa.

8, 28, 2: *vāruṇo mitrō aryamā  
smādrātiṣāco agnāyāḥ |  
pātnīvanto vāṣatkṛtāḥ ||*

“Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryamā, the Agnis, with their splendid gifts, and their wives,—to them is *vāṣat* called (*i.e.*, to them are oblations offered).” As already observed, *smādrātiṣācaḥ* is equivalent to *surātāyāḥ* occurring in 9, 81, 4 cited above; and hence it is very probable that the word is here an attribute, not only of the Agnis, but of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman also.

8, 34, 6: *smāt-puraṁdhir na ā gali  
viśvātodhīr na ūtāye |  
divo amūṣya śāsvato  
divām yayā divāvaso ||*

“Come to our help, thou with glorious blessings that hast thoughts on all sides; the rulers of this heaven have gone to heaven, O Divāvasu.” Or, should we interpret *smāt-puraṁdhiḥ* as ‘he whose wife is handsome’? Compare in this connection 3, 53, 6: *kalyāṇīr jāyā surāṇam gr̥hé te* ‘A handsome wife is (thy) joy in thy house’; 10, 86, 11: *indrāṇīm āsū nāriṣu subhūgām ahām aśravam* ‘Among these women, I have heard that Indra’s wife is (the most) handsome’; and TB. 2, 4, 2, 7:

*indrāṇī devī subhāgā supātnī*. As in 1, 156, 2 and 5, 61, 4 (see p. 246 above), it is possible that the prayer addressed to Indra to attend the sacrifice includes his wife also. Compare 1, 82, 6 : *pūṣanvān vajrin sām u pātnyāmadgh* 'Accompanied by Pūṣan, hast thou, O Vajra-bearer, revelled with thy wife.'

The meaning of the second hemistich which forms the refrain of the first fifteen verses of this hymn is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as, *amuṣya amuṣminn indre śāsataḥ śāsati | vibhaktivatyatayah | tatra vyaṃ sukham āsmahe he divāvaso dīptahaviṣkendra divaṃ svargaṃ yaya yūyaṃ gacchatha | bahuvacanaṃ pūjārtham | yad vā | he divāvaso dyu-nāmakam amuṣya amuṃ lokam śāsanam kurvanto yūyaṃ divaṃ svargaṃ yaya gacchatha | atra bahu-vacanaṃ pūjārtham*. Grassmann translates it as: "Von jenes Herrschers Himmel kamt ihr (*i.e.*, Indra and his horses) zu dem Feste Tageshell", and Ludwig as, "auf jenes Dyaus befehl seid ihr auch [o falben], o Divāvasu, zum himel gegangen." These interpretations are all unsatisfactory and that given by me above is scarcely better though I have adopted in it Oldenberg's suggestion (*RV. Noten*, II, 105) that *śāsataḥ* is nominative plural and not genitive singular.

1, 51, 15 : *idāṃ nāmo vṛṣabhāya svarāje*  
*satyāśuṣmāya tavāsc 'vāci |*  
*asminn indra vṛjāne sārvaṇīrāḥ*  
*smāt sūribhiḥ tāva śārman syāma ||*

"This adoration (hymn) has been recited for the strong bull, sovereign, whose courage is strong; in this distress, O Indra, may we with all our men and with our noble patrons be in thy protection." *smāt sūribhiḥ* = *bhadraiḥ sūribhiḥ*, fortunate patrons; *i.e.*, noble and rich patrons; compare the epithet *sujāta*, noble, applied to *sūri* in 2, 2, 11 : *sā no bodhi sahasya praśāmsyo yāsmiṃ sujātā iṣāyanta sūrāyaḥ* and 5, 6, 2 : *sām ārvanto raghu-*

*drúvaḥ sām sujātāsaḥ sūrāyaḥ*; compare also 10, 81, 6: *múhyantv anyé abhíto jánāsa ihāsmākaṁ maghāvā sūrir astu*. It must be observed however that though I have followed the current practice of Vedic exegetists (Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, etc.) in translating the word *sūri* here as 'patron,' I am not satisfied that this is the real meaning of the word. Compare also Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 419): "Die eigentliche Bedeutung von *sūri* ist noch unsicher."

1, 100, 13: *tāsya vājraḥ krandati smāt svarṣā  
divó ná tveṣó raváthaḥ śīmīvān |  
tām sacante sanāyas tām dhānāni  
marútvān no bhavatu índra ūtī ||*

"His beautiful thunderbolt, that wins light, roars; the sound is terrible and overpowering like that of Dyaus. Him follow successes and prizes. May Indra with the Maruts come to our help." *smāt vajraḥ* = *śobhano vajraḥ*; compare 8, 70, 2: *hástāya vājraḥ prāti dhāyi darśatāḥ* and 9, 97, 1: *eṣā prá kóse mádhumāñ acikradat índrasya vājro vápuṣo vápuṣṭaraḥ*. Regarding the simile in pāda b, compare 1, 58, 2: *divó ná sānu stanáyann acikradat*; 4, 10, 4: *prá te divó ná stanayanti śúśmāḥ*; 7, 3, 6: *divó ná te tanyatúr eti śúśmāḥ* and other similar verses in which the sound of Dyaus, i.e., thunder, is mentioned as *upamāna*.

1, 186, 6: *utá na im tváṣṭā gantv ácchā  
smāt sūribhir abhípitve sajóṣāḥ |  
ā vṛtrahéndraś carṣaṇiprās  
tuvíṣṭamo narām na ihá gamyāḥ ||*

"And may Tvaṣṭṛ also come to us gladly in the evening with the glorious and gracious gods and goddesses. May Indra, the killer of Vṛtra, the strongest of heroes, who fulfils (the expectations of) men, come here." The meaning of *sūri* is, as observed above, uncertain. We know however that it is used to denote the gods (see Grassmann, s.v.); and since gods and their

wives are mentioned in 2, 36, 3 explained above and also in 6, 50, 13 : *tvāṣṭā devébhir jānībhiḥ sajóṣāḥ* and 10, 64, 10 : *tvāṣṭā devébhir jānībhiḥ pitā vācaḥ* in connection with Tvaṣṭr, I regard the word here as an *ekaśeṣa* referring to gods and their wives.

1, 186, 8 : *utá na īm marúto vṛddhásenāḥ*  
*smád ródasī sámanasaḥ sadantu |*  
*pṛṣadaśvāso 'vánayo ná ráthā*  
*riśādaso mitrayújo ná devāḥ ||*

“ And may the Maruts also, with a great army (*i.e.*, who are many in number and form a great army by themselves),—the beautiful Rodasī (also)—sit, unanimous, on our (barhis), the gods with spotted horses, whose chariots (move as swiftly) as rivers, who are as difficult to check as those joined with their allies.” The translation of pāda d is tentative as the meaning of *riśādasah* is not certain. I am however inclined to believe that it means ‘swift; wild; impetuous; difficult to check’ (compare Pischel in *Ved. St.* 3, 190 ff.) and that the comparison concerns kings on the offensive who have effected a junction with their allies. Compare 1, 190, 6 : *durniyántuḥ páripriṭo ná mitráḥ* ‘difficult to check like an ally who is well-pleased.’ *smád ródasī* = *bhadrā rodasī*; compare the epithet *bhadraajānayaḥ* that is applied to the Maruts in 5, 61, 4 : *pārā vīrāsa etana máryāso bhúdraajānayaḥ* with reference (presumably) to Rodasī.

2, 4, 9 : *tváyā yáthā gr̥tsamadāso agne*  
*gúhā vanvánta úparāñi abhí śyúḥ !*  
*suvīrāso abhimātiśāḥaḥ*  
*smút sūribh̥yo gr̥naté tát váyo dhāḥ ||*

‘That the Gr̥tsamadas, O Agni, attacking secretly, may, through thee, overcome (their) neighbours (and become) possessed of fine sons (and) conquerors of enemies—bestow such strength on the noble patrons and on the praiser (*i.e.*, priest).’ The sense of pāda b is obscure. The epithet *guhā vanvantaḥ* ‘attacking or



winning secretly' is one that is more suited to the enemies of Agni's worshippers rather than to such worshippers themselves. The verb *as* with *abhi*, too, in the sense of 'overcome' takes generally in the RV objects like *prtanāyūn* (3,1,16: *abhi śyāma prtanāyūñr ádevān*), *śatrūn* (1, 178, 5: *tvāyā vayām maghavann indra śatrūn abhi śyāma*), *rakṣasaḥ* (10, 132, 2: *yuvóh krāṇāya sakhyaír abhi śyāma rakṣásaḥ*), and similar words; and it is strange to meet with the word *uparān* here as its object. Geldner therefore translates (*RV. Ueber.*) the pāda *as*, 'die Nebenbuhler (?) heimlich überwinden' and observes, "*úpara* scheint hier und 6, 2, 11 eine von der sonstigen abweichende Bedeutung zu haben. In 7, 48, 3 (wo *uparátāti*, vgl. av. *uparatāt*—) spricht ihm *aryáh*, also entweder rivalis, Nebenbuhler oder (mehr in Anlehnung an den avest. Sinn von *upara*) überlegen."

5, 41, 15: *padé-pade me jarimā ní dhāyi*  
*várūtrī vā śakrā yā pāyúbhiś ca |*  
*síśaktu mātā mahī rasā nah*  
*smāt sūribhir ṛjuhāsta ṛjuvāniḥ ||*

"At every step has old age been placed. May the great mother Rasā, mighty, bestowing beneficent gifts, with beneficent things in her hands, who protects us with protections, help us (and) our noble patrons." *jarimā* in pāda *a* means perhaps 'long life'; compare 10, 59, 4: *dyúbhir hitó jarimā sū no astu* and Oldenberg's observation thereon (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 197), '*jarimān* wohl in günstigem Sinn als "langes Leben" zu verstehen, vgl. 10, 87, 21 [*sákhe sákhāyam ajáro jarimné 'gne mártāñ ámartyas tvām nah*].' Compare also 1, 116, 25: *utá pásyann aśnuvān dīrghām āyur ástam ivéj jarimānam jagamyām*.

5, 41, 19: *abhi na ílā yūthāsya mātā*  
*smān nadībhir urvāśī vā grṇātu |*  
*urvāśī vā bṛhaddivā grṇānā*  
*'bhyūrṇvānā prabhṛthāsya yóh ||*

“May Idā, mother of the herd, praise us, or Urvaśī with the beautiful rivers, Urvaśī or Bṛhaddivā who is praised and who is surrounded by the offerings of diligent men.” *smān nadībhiḥ* = *bhadrābhir nadībhiḥ*. Compare the epithets *citrā*, *darśatā*, etc., applied to the river Sindhu in 10, 75, 7-8: *āśvā nā citrā vāpuṣīva darśatā* || *svāśvā sindhuḥ surāthā suvāsā hiraṇyāyī sūkṛtā* . . *yuvatīḥ* . . *subhāgā*.

5, 87, 8: *adveśo no maruto gātūm etana*  
*śrōtā hāvaṃ jaritūr evayāmarut !*  
*viṣṇor mahāḥ samanyavo yuyotana*  
*smād rathyo nā dāmsānā*  
*'pa dvēśāṃsi sanutāḥ* ||

“Being favourably inclined, take the way towards us, O Maruts; listen to the call of the praiser (priest). Being of the same mind as the great Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, in combination with the great Viṣṇu), keep away from us, by your great power, (all) evil things, as good charioteers (keep away from difficult roads).” Regarding the simile in pāda d, compare 8, 47, 5: *pāri no vṛṇajann aghā durgāṇi rathyo yathā* “May distresses keep away from us as charioteers keep away from difficult roads.” *evayāmarut* in pāda b occurs as refrain in all verses of the hymn and has been left untranslated by me. It has no connection with the other words of the verses, and seems to be used as a sort of interjection. See PW and Grassmann. *smād rathyāḥ* = *praśastā rathyāḥ* as explained by Sāyaṇa, that is, clever charioteers who know how to drive.

7, 3, 8: *yā vā te sānti dāśūṣe ādhṛṣṭā*  
*giro vā yābhir nṛvātīr uruṣyāḥ |*  
*tābhir naḥ sūno sahaso nī pāhi*  
*smāt sūrīn jaritṛn jātavedaḥ* ||

“The impregnable (citadels) that thou hast for him who makes offerings to thee, or through which thou canst protect hymns with men (*i.e.*, hymns and

also the men, that is, us, that recite them), with them, O son of strength, O Jātavedas, protect us singers (and our) noble patrons." Compare Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, p. 7. The word *purah*, 'citadels,' has to be understood here after *adhṛṣṭāḥ*; compare 7, 15, 14: *ādihā mahi na āyasy ānādhṛṣṭo nṛpīṭaye | pūr dhavā śatābhujih* and 10, 101, 8: *pūrah kṛṇudhvam āyasir ādhṛṣṭāḥ* and also pāda d of the preceding verse: *śatām pūrbhīr āyasībhīr nī pāhi*. Regarding the expression *pūrbhīr uruṣyāḥ*, compare 1, 58, 8: *āgne gṛṇāntam āmhasa uruṣyōrjo napāt pūrbhīr āyasībhīh*; and regarding *gira uruṣyāḥ*, compare 10, 177, 2: *tām dyótamānām svaryām manīṣām ṛtasya padé kavāyo nī pānti*; 10, 93, 11: *etām śāmsam indra . . . sādā pāhi*; and 7, 56, 19: *imé [sc. marutaḥ] śāmsam vanuṣyató nī pānti. smāt sūrin= bhadrān sūrin*.

8, 18, 4: *devébhīr devy adité*

*'riṣṭabharmann ā gahi |*

*smāt sūribhīh purupriye suśārmabhiḥ ||*

"Come, O goddess Aditi, very dear, that bringest blessings, with the bright well-protecting gracious gods." Regarding *smāt devébhīh* 'gracious gods,' compare *bhadrá devāḥ* in 10, 72, 5: *tām devā ānv ajāyanta bhadrá amṛtabandhavaḥ*.

8, 20, 18: *yé cārhanti marútaḥ sudānavaḥ*

*smān mīlhuṣaś cāranti yé |*

*ātaś cid ā na úpa vásyasā hṛdā*

*yúvāna ā vavṛdhvam ||*

"The liberal ones (*i.e.*, worshippers) who adore the Maruts, who serve (*i.e.*, worship) the gracious ones that rain blessings,—turn, O ye youths, even from thence (*i.e.*, from heaven) towards us with very gracious mind." *sudānavaḥ* is an epithet of worshippers; compare 8, 103, 7: *āsvam ná gīrbhī rathyām sudānavo marmṛjyānte devayávaḥ* and 9, 74, 4: *samīcināḥ sudānavaḥ prīnanti tām nárah. smat= bhadrān*; compare the epithet *subhaga* applied to

the Maruts in 5, 60, 6: *yád uttamé maruto madhyamé vā yád vāvamé subhagāso divi śthá*. The epithet *mīlhuṣaḥ* is applied to the Maruts in 1, 173, 12 also: *mahás cid yásya mīlhúšo yavyā haviśmato marúto vandate gīḥ*. *ye* in the first hemistich seems to have as antecedent *naḥ* in the third pāda.

The words *arhanti* and *caranti* in the first hemistich are perplexing and I follow Sāyaṇa in interpreting them as *pūjayanti* (cp. 10, 77, 1: *sumārutam ná brahmānam arháse*) and *saparyanti* (cp. the verb *paricar*) respectively. Grassmann (no. 640) translates the hemistich as, "Die reich an Gaben selbst den Maruts kommen gleich, und zu den gnäd'gen gehn im Chor," and Ludwig (no. 702) as, "die Marut, die trefflich begabten, die hieher regnend gehn, sie die anspruch haben."

8, 26, 18-19: *utá syā śvetayāvarī  
vāhiṣṭhā vām nadīnām |  
sīndhur hīraṇyavartaniḥ ||  
smád etāyā sukīrtyā  
'śvinā śvetāyā dhiyā |  
vāhethe śubhrayāvānā ||*

"And this Śvetayāvarī with a golden path, that among rivers, flows the best for ye, by this beautiful, well-famed Śvetā, drive with my prayer, O ye Aśvins with a splendid team." *śvetā*=Śvetayāvarī, and *śvetayā*, 'by Śvetā,' means probably 'to the bank of Śvetā,' where, according to Sāyaṇa, the ṛṣi was invoking the Aśvins.

10, 61, 8: *sá im vṛṣā ná phénam asyad ājau  
smúd ā páraid āpa dabhrácatāḥ |  
sárat padā ná dáksīṇā parāvṛṇ  
ná tā nú me pṛśanyò jagṛbhre ||*

This verse, as in fact, the whole hymn in which the verse occurs, is obscure. I translate tentatively, "Like a bull in a race, he threw forth froth; the handsome one went away weak in mind. He walked with the right foot turned away, as it were, thinking 'The Pṛśanis have not got hold of me.'"

The word *smat* occurs further in 10, 49, 4 (*túgram kútsāya smādibham ca randhayam*) in the compound *smādibha* ('having a fine elephant') which is generally regarded as a proper name (PW, Grassmann, Sāyaṇa, Pischel and Geldner in *Ved. St.*, 1, p. xvi.).

The word *sumat* too occurs, further, in the compound *sumādgu* in AV. 5, 1, 7 and in the compound *sumāt-kṣara* in three Praiṣa formulæ (VS. 21, 43-45; TB. 3, 6, 11, 1; MS. 4, 13, 7; KS. 18, 21). AV. 5, 1, 7, as in fact, the whole of the hymn 5, 1, is very obscure (Whitney, in his *AV. Translation*, remarks of it that it is 'intentionally and most successfully obscure'). Whitney has translated *sumādgu* there as 'with kine'; but there seems to be no doubt that it means 'having fine cows,' and that it is the equivalent of *sugú* in RV. 1, 125, 2: *sugúr asat suhiraṇyás svásvaḥ. sumāt-kṣara* (which is an epithet applied to the offering of fat and cooked flesh made to the gods) is explained by Roth (PW) as 'träufelnd, vollsaftig.' This explanation is unsatisfactory, and the word really signifies 'beautifully melting', that is, 'melting delightfully in the mouth' or 'delicious.' \*

In conclusion, I would observe that, in the verses in which the words *smāt* and *sumāt* are used by themselves uncompounded, it is difficult to determine with what word they are to be construed. Thus in 10, 32, 3, I have construed *sumāt* with *jāyā* while Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2, l. c.) and Sāyaṇa construe it with *vagnúnā*. In 2, 4, 9, Sāyaṇa construes *smāt* with *váyah*, and in 1, 100, 13, with *krundati* while I have construed them with *sūribhiyah* and *vájrah*. Similarly, it is possible to construe it with *śárman* in 1, 51, 15 (compare the words *su-śárman* and *su-śáraṇa*) and with *nipāhi* in 7, 3, 8 (compare *su-gopāhi*; *su-ūti*). I have therefore in the translations given above construed it in what seemed to me to be the best way.

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\* Compare Uvaṭa's explanation: *sumat-kṣarāṇām | sumat svayam ity arthaḥ | svayam eva yāni kṣaranti aditāni* in his commentary on VS. 21. 43 and the similar explanation of Mahidhara.

There has been much dispute about the interpretation of this word which occurs in six verses of the RV and in two passages of other texts; for literature in connection with it, see Oldenberg in ZDMG. 63, 300.

*paḍbhīḥ* is mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu* in 4, 2, along with other difficult words; and Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (5, 3), explains it as *pānair iti vā spāśanair iti vā*.<sup>1</sup> Sāyaṇa explains it uniformly as *pādaiḥ* in his RV commentary; and so apparently do Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara in their commentaries on VS. 23, 13.

These facts, namely, Sāyaṇa's unvarying explanation of *paḍbhīḥ* as *pādaiḥ* and the similar explanations of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, lead me to conjecture that this explanation was borrowed by these commentators from Yāska, that Yāska, in fact, explained the word as *pādair iti vā spāśanair iti vā*, and that the word *pānaiḥ* found in the MSS is a corruption of the original reading *pādaiḥ*.

In other words, I am inclined to believe that Yāska looked upon *paḍbhīḥ* (1) as equivalent to *pādaiḥ*, or (2) as derived from the root *spāś*. According to Devarāja (l.c.), this root *spāś* signifies 'to bind' and *paḍbhīḥ* is equivalent to *bandhanaiḥ*. According to Wackernagel (*Ai. Gr.*, I, 172), Macdonell (*Ved. Gr.*, 34) and other

<sup>1</sup> The explanation *spāśanair iti vā* is found in some manuscripts of the *Nirukta* after *spāśanair iti vā*; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, I, 228, n. 2. It is not found in the majority of the manuscripts, and there can therefore be no doubt that it is an interpolation.

Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta* shows that he did not know of this explanation. On the other hand, Devarāja's explanation of *paḍbhīḥ* in his scholium on the *Nighaṇṭu* (p. 408 of Satyavrata Sāmaśramin's ed.) shows that the words *spāśanair iti vā* formed part of the *Nirukta* in his time. For the rest, the explanations of both these writers show that the *Nirukta* codex which they had before them had the reading *pānaiḥ*.

exegetists however, *paḍbhiḥ* is derived not only from *paś* 'to bind' but also from *spaś* 'to see.' And thus there are altogether three meanings proposed for the word *paḍbhiḥ*.

The European exegetists differ from one another by preferring or rejecting one or more of these three meanings. Thus, Roth, in the PW, says that *paḍbhiḥ* denotes *pādaiḥ* generally, but that the word used in RV. 4, 2, 12 is derived from *spaś* 'to see' and signifies 'glances' or 'eyes' <sup>2</sup>. Ludwig, in his *RV. Ueber.*, 4, 309, questions both these derivations and says that *paḍbhiḥ* is derived from *paś*=*pāśa* or rope; later however, in 5, 626, he is inclined to admit the derivation from *spaś* 'to see' in connection with 4, 2, 12; 14. Bartholomae too, in *Bez. Beitr.* XV, 3 ff., similarly rejects the meaning *paḍbhiḥ* or *pādaiḥ* and derives the word from *paś* 'glance' and from *paś* 'rope.' Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1, 228 ff. admits all the three meanings, while Bloomfield, in *AJPh.* 11, 350 ff., opines that *paḍbhiḥ* signifies *pādaiḥ* everywhere and that it is not the instrumental plural of *paś* 'glance (eye)' or *paś* 'rope.' This is the opinion of Oldenberg also (*ZDMG.* 63, 300 ff.) who however interprets some of the verses in which *paḍbhiḥ* occurs differently from Bloomfield. Similarly Geldner <sup>3</sup> too, in his *RV. Ueber.* (I, 376), has translated *paḍbhiḥ* as 'with feet.'

Now, it cannot be disputed that *paḍbhiḥ* means 'with feet' in Kauś. Sūtra 44, 17: *yad vaśā māyūm akrata uro vā paḍbhir āhata | agnir mā tasmād enaso viśvān muñcatv amhasaḥ* which is to be recited when the *vaśā* is being slain. Not only does the meaning 'with feet' fit well here in the context, but the parallel versions of this mantra in TS. 3, 1, 4, 3; Sāma-mantra-brāh.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell too (op. cit. p. 238) opines that *paḍbhiḥ* in 4, 2, 12 means 'with looks' and is derived from *spaś* 'to see.'

<sup>3</sup> Geldner, in his *RV. Glossar*, had, like Pischel, admitted all the three meanings.

2, 2, 11; Kāt. ŚS. 25, 9, 12; Śāṅkh. ŚS. 4, 17, 12; Mānava-ŚS. 1, 8, 3, 34 and Gobh. GS. 3, 10, 28 actually read *paḍbhiḥ* here without cerebralization; so also do in fact many MSS of the Kausika-sūtra itself. The meaning of the mantra therefore is: "If the *vaśā* has cried or beat (its) breast with (its) feet,—may Agni free me from that sin and all (other) sins." Similarly, there can be no doubt that *paḍbhiḥ* = *pādaiḥ* in VS. 23, 13 (= Śata. Br. 13, 2, 7, 6): *eṣā sya rāthyo vṛṣā paḍbhiḥ catūrbhir éd agan*. The expression *catūrbhiḥ paḍbhiḥ* here is, as already pointed out by Pischel (l.c. 352), parallel to the expression *catūrbhiḥ paḍbhiḥ* in AV. 3, 7, 2: *ānu tvā harinó vṛṣā paḍbhiḥ catūrbhir akramīt* and AV. 4, 14, 9: *paḍbhiḥ catūrbhiḥ prāti tiṣṭha dikṣu*; and the passage therefore means: "This excellent chariot-horse has indeed come with four feet."

The meaning *pādaiḥ* however does not suit the context in RV. 10, 79, 2: *ātrāṇy asmai paḍbhiḥ sám bharanty uttānāhastā nāmasā 'dhi vikṣu*; for, it is difficult to imagine food being carried to Agni with feet by his worshippers. Bloomfield proposes therefore to interpret *paḍbhiḥ* as 'nimbly' here and explains (l. c. 352-3) thus how the word comes to have this meaning: "The phrase *paḍbhiḥ catūrbhiḥ* expresses the simple notion that the speed of animals is due to their character as quadrupeds. Animals run swiftly with their four feet, and because of their four feet. If the notion is generalized, *paḍbhiḥ*, when used of human beings, may have been felt in contrast to *paḍbhyām* to mean 'with (four) feet' and thus 'quickly, nimbly, briskly,' etc. RV. v. 64. 7 cd *ā paḍbhīr dhāvataṁ narā bībhṛatāv arcanānasam* 'run hither nimbly, O ye two heroes, to preserve Arcanānas.' RV. x. 99. 12, *evā mahó asura vakṣāthāya vamrakāḥ paḍbhīr ūpa sarpaḍ indram* 'thus, O Asura, did great Vamraka quickly come to Indra for prosperity.' It seems difficult to imagine another meaning of *paḍbhiḥ* in these two passages, especially the last. Pischel has



left it untranslated, though admitting that *paḍbhīḥ* comes from *pād* 'foot;' it seems simply inane to translate 'Vamraka went to Indra with his feet (plural!).' We venture the same exegesis for *paḍbhīḥ* in RV. x. 79. 2: *ātrāṇy asmāi paḍbhīḥ sām bharanty, uttānāhastā nāmasā dhi vikṣū* 'nimble do they carry together fuel for him,' etc. Bartholomae and Pischel follow Ludwig in regarding *paḍbhīḥ* as a ritual expression, equivalent to *idhma-samnahana*, and translate 'they bring together his fuel with ropes,' etc. But the hymn is mystical, and it seems unlikely that a dry technical detail of the ritual should appear singly in such connection."

This explanation is more ingenious than convincing; for, even granting that *paḍbhīḥ* 'with feet,' when used with verbs of motion in connection with human beings, means 'briskly,' 'nimble,' one fails to see why it should have this meaning in 10, 79, 2 where there is no verb of motion. Similarly, the explanations of Ludwig and Pischel (l. c. 237) that *paḍbhīḥ* means 'with rope' here and refers to the *idhma-samnahana-rajju* (or string with which the samidhs are tied together) are unconvincing. Likewise, it is also evident that the meaning 'eyes' or 'glances' does not fit the context here at all. Hence it is clear that *paḍbhīḥ* in 10, 79, 2 must have a signification different from the three mentioned above.

Now, Amarasiṃha, in his lexicon, mentions (1, 4, 1) among synonyms of *mati* the words *buddhi*, *manīṣā*, *dhiṣaṇā*, *dhī*, *prajñā*, *śemuṣī* and *prekṣā*, of which the last-mentioned word *prekṣā* is derived from *pra+ikṣ* 'to see'; similarly, he mentions in 2, 7, 5f., the words *dūradarśin*, *dīrgha-darśin*, and *vicakṣaṇa*, all derived from roots meaning 'to see,' among synonyms of *dhīra* and *manīṣin* 'weise, verständig, nachdenkend'; and most of the verbs meaning 'to see' in Sanskrit, as for instance, *ā+lok*, *ā+loc*, *īkṣ*, *dṛś*, *lok*, signify 'to understand, to comprehend' also; \* see Apte; see also Grassmann s. v. *īkṣ*, *ci 2*, *dṛś*, *vi+cakṣ*, *vicakṣaṇa*, etc.

\* Similarly, verbs meaning 'to see' have the sense of 'to understand, to comprehend' in many European languages also.

It is my opinion that the word *paś*, derived from *spas* 'to see', is, like the above-mentioned word *prekṣā*, a synonym of *mati*, *dhī*, *manīṣā*, *dhīti*, etc. *paḍbhīḥ* thus is equivalent to *matibhīḥ*, *dhībhīḥ*, *dhītibhīḥ* or *manīṣābhīḥ*; and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the six RV verses in which the word occurs.

10, 79, 2: *gúhā síro níhitam ídhag akṣí*  
*áśinvann atti jihváyā vānāni |*  
*átrāṇy asmai paḍbhīḥ sám bharanty*  
*uttānāhastā námasā 'dhi vikṣú ||*

"(His) head is placed in a secret place, (his) eyes, in a different place; irresistible, he eats woods with (his) tongue. In the clans, they (i.e., worshippers), with hands stretched out, reverently bring food for him with hymns."

*paḍbhīḥ*=*matibhīḥ* 'with hymns'; compare in this connection the following verses—7, 4, 1: *prá vah śukrāya bhānāve bharadhvaṁ havyám matim cāgnāye súpūtam*; 1, 153, 1: *yájāmahe vām mahāḥ sajóṣā havyébhīr mitrá-varuṇā námobhīḥ | ghṛtaír ghṛtasnū ádha yád vām asmé adhvaryávo ná dhītibhīr bhāranti*; 5, 7, 1: *sákhāyaḥ sám vah samyāñcam ísam stómaṁ cāgnāye | vārṣiṣṭhāya kṣitīnām ūrjo náptre sáhasvate [bharata]* and 5, 12, 1: *prāgnāye brhaté yajñīyāya ṛtúśya vṛṣṇe ásurāya mánma | ghṛtám ná yajñā āsyè súpūtam gíraṁ bhare vṛṣabhāya praticim*; all these verses speak of food (*havya*, *ghṛta*, *iṣ*) being brought (*bhṛta*) to Agni and Mitra-Varuṇa with hymns (*mati*, *dhīti*, *stoma*, *gīr*). Compare also 1, 136, 1: *prá sú jyēṣṭham nicirābhyām brhān námo havyám matim bharatā mṛḷayádbhyām*; 6, 1, 10: *asmā u te máhi mahé vidhema námobhīr agne samidhotá havyaíḥ | védī sūno sahaso gīrbhīr uktháir ā te bhadráyām sumataú yatema*; 2, 35, 12: *asmaí bahūnām avamāya sákhye yajñair vidhema námasā havírbhīḥ | sám sānu mārjmi dídhīṣāmi bílmair dádhāmy ánnaiḥ pári vanda ṛgbhīḥ*; 8, 19, 5: *yáh samídha yá áhuti yó védēna dadāśa márto agnāye | yó*

*nāmasā svadhvarāḥ* ; and 8, 19, 13 : *yó agnīm havyádātibhir nāmobhir vā suddākṣam āvívāsati | girā vā 'jirāsociṣam* all which verses speak of Agni being worshipped in reverence (*nāmasā*) with food and hymns.

10, 99, 12 : *evā mahó asura vakṣáthāya*

*vamrakāḥ paḍbhīr úpa sarpad índram |*

*sá iyānáḥ karati svastīm asmā*

*iṣam ūrjam sukṣitīm víśvam ābhāḥ ||*

" Thus, O great one, did Vamraka, for the strengthening of (thee) that art strong, approach with hymns, (thee) Indra. He, being approached, makes happiness for this (Vamraka); (he) has brought food, vigour, fine dwelling and all."

It is the opinion of Roth (in the PW) that *vamraka* in pāda b means 'ant.' This view is justly criticised by Pischel who writes thus on p. 238, l. c. : " Dass *Vamraká* nicht, wie Roth meint, " Ameischen " bedeutet, geht klar aus dem Beiworte *mahá* hervor. " Ein grosses Ameischen " wäre doch gar zu sonderbar und nicht weniger seltsam wäre es, *mahás* als Genetiv sing. zu fassen, zu *vakṣáthāya* zu ziehen und auf Indra zu deuten. Dass ein Ameischen dem Indra zum gedeihen verhelfen sollte, ist schwer zu glauben und wird direkt widerlegt durch den folgenden Vers *sá iyānáḥ karati svastīm asmā iṣam ūrjam sukṣitīm víśvam ābhāḥ*. *sá* kann nur Indra, *asmā* nur Vamraka sein. *Vamraká* ist Eigennamen and wohl identisch mit Vamra 1, 112, 15 (10, 99, 5?)." Similarly, *vamraká* is regarded as a proper name by Bloomfield (l.c.), Grassmann and Ludwig. Sāyaṇa too regards it as a proper name, and identifies, as I think, quite correctly, this Vamraka, with the Vamra Vaikhānasa who, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, is the seer of this verse.

In pāda a, the vocative *asura* refers naturally to Indra who is the deity of this stanza and is mentioned in pāda b ; compare in this connection 1, 154, 3 ; 1, 174, 1

and other verses (see Grassmann s. v.) in which this epithet is applied to Indra. The word *mahāh* is apparently regarded as a dative by Ludwig who translates *mahó vakṣáthāya* as 'zu grossem wachsthum,' while Grassmann opines that it is a genitive and refers to Indra. It is, as we have seen, looked upon as nominative singular by Pischel and also by Bloomfield (l. c.) and interpreted as 'great.' This view seems to me to be incorrect; for, nowhere else in the RV do we see a priest or singer characterised as 'great'; on the other hand, some of the seers call themselves *nādhmāna* 'distressed' (see Grassmann s.v.). I believe therefore with Grassmann that *mahāh* is a genitive and refers to Indra, and I hence supply after it the word *te*; compare 4, 24, 7: *vṛddhāsya cid vardhatām asya tanūh stómebhir ukthais ca śasyāmānā* 'May the body of this (Indra), though he is strong, become strong (er), being praised with hymns of praise.' After *īndram*, too, I supply, following Sāyaṇa, the word *tvām*.

That the hymns recited by priests or singers put strength into the deities that are praised, is an idea that is commonplace in the RV. The phrase *paḍbhih vakṣáthāya upasṛp* 'to approach with hymns for strengthening' in pāda b gives expression to such an idea; it is equivalent to the phrases *matibhih*, (*gīrbhih*, *stomaiḥ*, *manasā*, *brahmaṇā*, etc.) *vardhay*, *vājay*, or *mahay* that are used in many verses. Compare for instance 5, 14, 6: *agnīm ghṛtēna vāvṛdhuḥ stómebhir viśvācarṣaṇim | svādhībhir vacasyúbhih*; 7, 12, 3: *tvām vāruṇa utá mitró agne tvām vardhanti matibhir vásiṣṭhāh*; 7, 77, 6: *yām tvā divo duhitar vardháyanty úśaḥ sujāte matibhir vásiṣṭhāh*; 8, 44, 2: *agne stómaṁ juṣasva me vārdhasvānena mánmanā*; 1, 91, 11: *sóma gīrbhiḥ tvā vayām vardháyāmo vacovídaḥ*; 10, 73, 2: *purú śámsena vāvṛdhuḥ tá īndram*; 8, 100, 3: *prá sú stómaṁ bharata vājayánta īndrāya satyām yádi satyām ásti*; 6, 19, 4: *tām va īndram catīnam asya śākāir ihá nūnām vājayánto huvema*;

8, 3, 16 : *īndram stómebhir maháyanta āyávaḥ priyámedhāso asvaran* ; 6, 15, 2 : *sá tvām súprīto vītáhaveye adbhuta prásastibhir mahayase divé-dive* ; 3, 3, 3 ; *víprāso agním mahayanta cītībhiḥ* ; and 5, 31, 4 : *brahmāṇa īndram maháyanto arkaír ávardhayann ūhaye hántavā u*. The word *paḍbhīḥ* is equivalent to *stómebhiḥ*, *gīrbhīḥ*, *cītībhiḥ*, *matībhiḥ*, *mānmanā*, *prásastibhiḥ*, and *arkaíḥ* in the above verses. The expression *paḍbhír úpa sarpat* in b is parallel to *gīrbhír īmahe*, *gīrbhir āyan*, etc., in 8, 68, 10 : *tām tvā yajñébhír īmahe tām gīrbhír girvaṇa-stama* ; 10, 98, 9 : *tvām pūrva ṛṣayo gīrbhír āyan tvām adhvaréṣu puruhūta viśve* ; 2, 2, 5 : *tām u havyaír mānuṣa ṛñjate girā* ; 1, 36, 1 : *agním sūktébhír vácobhir īmahe* ; 8, 43, 31 : *agním mandráṁ purupriyám . . hṛdbhír mandrébhír īmahe* and other similar verses. Compare also AB. 7, 17 : *sa Prajāpatim eva prathamam devatānām upa-sasāra kasya nūnam . . ity etayarcā . . Agnim upasasārāgner vayam . . ity etayarcā . . Savitāram upasasārābhi tvā deva savitar ity etena tṛcna*.

5, 64, 7 : *ucchāntyām me yajatā*  
*devākṣatre rúṣadgavi |*  
*sutām sómam ná hastībhir*  
*ā paḍbhír dhāvataṁ narā*  
*bíbhṛatāv arcanānasam ||*

“ When (the Dawn) with bright cows dawns for me in the sky, come with thoughts, running, O ye (two) heroes that are worshipful, to Arcanānas as to the (Soma juice) pressed by dexterous (priests), protecting.”

*yajatā* in a is nominative dual and qualifies [*yuvām*] that is the subject of *ādhāvatam* in d and refers to Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities of this verse. *rúṣadgavi* ‘having bright cows’ denotes the goddess Uṣas; cp. 5, 75, 9 : *ābhūd uṣā rúṣatpaśur āgnír adhāyy ṛtvíyaḥ* “The Dawn who has bright cows has appeared; Agni has been set up (i.e., kindled) at the proper time” and Nighaṇṭu 1, 15 : *arunyo gāva uṣasah*.

*devākṣatre* in pāda b is obscure: Diverse suggestions have been made that it should be interpreted as (1) *yajña* (Sāyaṇa: *devānām kṣatram balam yasmin yajñe tad devākṣatram*); (2) 'Himmel' (Pischel in p. 238, l. c.); (3) 'unter göttlichen Herrschaft stehend' (Roth in PW), that is, presumably, 'the Dawn' or 'sky'; (4) 'Herrschaft der Götter, Götterreich' (Grassmann); (5) 'reich der götter' (Ludwig); (6) *deva-kṣetra* (Böhtlingk in PW); (7) accusative dual, attribute of *haviṣī* (the dual is used because two portions are offered, one each to Mitra and Varuṇa who are entreated to come to such food as gods go to the Soma juice), and meaning 'eine die Herrschaft über die Götter verbürgende Opfer-speise' (Oldenberg in *RV. Noten*, I, p. 348, n. 1); and (8) locative, attribute of 'rite' and denoting 'in the rite which portrays the dominion (of Mitra and Varuṇa) over the gods' (Oldenberg, l.c.). Further, after expressing his dissatisfaction with all the above explanations, Oldenberg (9) points out (l. c.) that *kṣatra* is preeminently the possession of Mitra and Varuṇa (who are the very deities of this verse) in the RV and that they are described as having *kṣatra* over the gods in 5, 68, 3: *maḥi vām kṣatráṁ devéṣu* and 6, 67, 5: *viśve yád vām . . . kṣatráṁ devāso ádadhuḥ sajósāḥ*, and opines that *devākṣatre* is a corruption of *devākṣatrā*, nominative dual (the corruption is

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It is explicitly said of the Dawn in 1, 92, 12: *áminatī daívyāni vratāni* and 7, 76, 5: *tē devānām ná minanti vratāni* that she does not infringe the laws of the gods, that is, that she obeys the laws of the gods and is under their dominion.

A similar explicit statement is not made of the sky. But the sky is said to have been established in its place or to be supported or upheld by Mitra and Varuṇa (5, 62, 3; 5, 69, 1; 4; etc.); Savitr (4, 53, 2; 10, 129, 1; 4; etc.), Indra (2, 12, 1; 3, 39, 9; 2, 17, 5; etc.) Viṣṇu (7, 99, 2; 3), Agni (6, 8, 3; 1, 67, 5), Brhaspati (4, 50, 1), Soma (9, 101, 15), Prajāpati (10, 121, 5), Sūrya (10, 85, 1) and perhaps by other gods; and one can therefore deduce from this that the sky is under the dominion of the gods and obeys the laws laid down by them.

caused by the attraction of the locative case of the word *rūsadgavi* that follows immediately after), and that it is an attribute of Mitra and Varuṇa and signifies 'who have dominion over the gods.'

The word *devakṣatra* occurs in two passages of the Kāth. Saṁ. in 21, 11 (p. 52, 9): *devakṣatram vai stomas ca yajus cāntata eva devakṣatram prāvasyati* and 33, 8 (p. 34, 5): *devakṣatram vā āyusas stomā devakṣatram eva tad abhyārohanto yanti*. Not much light is thrown on the meaning of the word by the first,<sup>6</sup> but the second indicates that *devakṣatra* is a place to which people 'mount.' Since the word *div* and its synonym *nāka* occur more than once as objects of the verb *āruh* in the KS (see 8, 16; 18, 4 etc.) and also in the RV (see Grassmann s. v. *ruh*), I believe that Pischel is right in interpreting *devākṣatra* as 'Himmel.' As we have seen above, the sky is under the dominion of the gods, and the epithet *devākṣatra* 'under the dominion of the gods' is not therefore an inappropriate one. Compare in this connection 1, 92, 1: *etā u tyā uṣasaḥ ketūm akrata pūrve ārdhe rājaso bhānūm añjate*; 7, 79, 2: *vy āñjate divó āntesv aktūn . . uṣasaḥ*; and 1, 113, 14: *vy āñjibhir divá ātāsv adyaut* in which Uṣas is said to have illumined the sky with her rays.

The expression *paḍbhīr ādhāvatam* in d is equivalent to *dhībhīr ādhāvatam*; compare 8, 8, 5: *ā no yātam ūpaśruty āsvinā sómapītaye | svāhā stómasya vardhanā prá kavī dhītibhir narā*; 8, 8, 7: *divás cid rocanād ādhy ā no gantam svarvidā | dhībhīr vatsa-pracetasā stómebhīr havanaśrutā*; 8, 24, 7: *vīśvāni vīśvámanaso dhiyā no*

<sup>6</sup> The corresponding passage of the Maitr. Saṁ. however, namely, 3, 4, 2 (p. 46, 21): *stomas ca yajus cety annaṁ vai stomas ca yajus cānnaṁ vā etad ātman dhītvā 'do bhūtvā devakṣetram antataḥ prāvasati* has *devakṣetram*. This word signifies *svarga* or heaven; and the reading of the MS makes it probable that *devakṣatra* = *devakṣetra*, and thus lends support to Pischel's explanation of *devakṣatra* as 'Himmel.'

*vṛtrahantama* | *úgra pranetar údhi śū vaso gahi*; 8, 27, 5: *ā no adyā samanaso gāntā víśve sajóśasaḥ* | *ṛcā girā māruto dévy áaite sádane pástye mahi*; 8, 27, 8: *ā prá yāta māruto víśno áśvinā pūṣan mākīnayā dhiyā*; and also 6, 50, 10: *utá me hávam ā jagmyātam nāsatyā dhībhiḥ*.

The meaning of this expression *padbhir ādhāvatam* 'come running with thoughts' is somewhat ambiguous. The thoughts referred to may be 'benevolent' thoughts, *sumatayaḥ*, i.e., favours or blessings (what Sāyaṇa calls *anugraha-buddhi* and Grassmann 'wohlwollendes Aufmerken') of the deities; compare 8, 26, 9: *sumatibhir úpa viprāv ihā gatam*; "Come, O ye two inspired ones, with favours here"; 8, 3, 1: *asmāñ avantu te dhīyaḥ* 'May thy (Indra's) favours help us'; 7, 67, 7: *áheḷatā múnasā yātam arvāk* "Come hitherward with favourable thought"; 7, 37, 2: *ví no rādhāmsi matibhir dayadhvam* "Bestow gifts on us with favours"; and 2, 10, 5: *araksāsā múnasā táj juṣeta* "May he (Agni) enjoy it with favourably-inclined mind"; or they may be the promptings or volitions of such deities; compare 1, 3, 5: *indrā yāhi dhiyēṣitāḥ* . . . *úpa bráhmāṇi vāghátāḥ* 'Come, O Indra, impelled by thy thought, (that is, with eagerness), to the hymns of the priest'; 3, 11, 1: *indrāgnī ā gatam sutām gīrbhīr nábho vāreṇyam* | *asyā pātām dhiyēṣitā* 'O Indra and Agni, prompted by your thoughts (i.e., eagerly) come to this excellent [Soma] juice that has been expressed with hymns and drink of it'; 1, 3, 2: *nārā śávīrayā dhiyā* | *dhiṣṇyā vānatām girāḥ* 'Cherish (our) hymns with strong thought (i.e., most eagerly), O ye two heroes that are liberal (?)'. They may also be the 'pious' thoughts, i.e., hymns or praises, of the priests, which are conceived of as impelling the deities to come to the sacrifices, etc.; compare 1, 135, 6: *ā vām dhiyó vavṛtyur adhivarāñ úpa* "May our hymns turn you two to our sacrifices"; 1, 139, 6: *gīrbhīr girvāhas stāvamāna ā gahi*; 1, 144, 5: *tām im hinvanti dhītāyaḥ*; 8, 44, 9: *tvām agne manīṣīnas tvām*



*hinvanti cītibhīh*; and 10, 88, 5: *tām tvāhema matibhīh gīrbhīh ukthaiḥ*. Lastly, though this is less probable, *paḍbhīh* may denote hymns that are conceived of as being the praises of the bards (*vandinah*, *sūtāḥ* or *māga-dhāḥ*) attending on kings, and mentioned on p. 210 above.<sup>7</sup> It must be noted in this connection that the epithet *rājan* 'king' is, in the RV, most often applied to Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities addressed in this verse.

It is very probable that the *ná* in pāda c, *sutām sōmam ná hastibhīh* has really the force of *ca* 'and'; compare the instances given on pp. 25, 145 above. Similarly, it is also very probable that the simile in pāda c refers to swiftness. Compare, for instance, 1, 2, 5: *vāyav indraś ca cetataḥ sutānām vājinīvasū | tāv ā yātam ūpa dravāt*; 1, 3, 8: *viśve devāso aptūrah sutām ā ganta tūrṇayaḥ | usrā iṣa svāsarāṇi*; 10, 112, 2: *yās te rātho mánaso jāvíyān éndra téna somapéyāya yāhi | tūyam ā te hārayaḥ prá dravantu*; 7, 59, 4: *tūyam yāta pīpīṣavaḥ* and other similar verses in which Indra, Vāyu and other gods are exhorted to come quickly to the Soma juice. Pādas c d e therefore mean, 'Come running swiftly, with thoughts, O ye two heroes, protecting, to Arcanānas and to the Soma juice pressed by clever priests.' *hastibhīh*=by clever (priests); see Pischel, p. 238 l. c.

<sup>7</sup> We read in 3, 58, 1: *uśāsas stōmo aśvīnāv ajīgaḥ*; 7, 67, 1: *yō vām dūtō ná dhiṣṇyāv ājīgaḥ*; 10, 29, 1: *súcīr vām stōmo bhuraṇāv ajīgaḥ* and other similar verses that the hymn or chant awakened the gods. Is it possible that in such verses too the hymns are conceived of as the praises sung by the bards in the early morning? As we know from Raghuvamśa 5, 65: *taṁ karna-bhūṣaṇa-nipīḍita-pīvarāmsam śayyottaracchada-vimarda-kṛśāṅgarāgam | sūtātma-jāḥ savayasah prathita-prabodham prābodhayann uśasi vāgbhīr udāra-vācaḥ*; Māgha 11, 1: *śruti-samadhikam uccaiḥ pañcamam pīḍayantah satatam ṛṣabha-hīnam bhinnakṛtya śaḍjam | praṇijagadur akāku-śrāvaka-snigdha-kaṇṭhāḥ pariṇatim iti rātrēr māgadhā Mādhavāya* and other similar passages, it was the duty of the sūtas and māgadhas to awaken kings in the morning with songs.

It is the opinion of both Pischel and Oldenberg that *ādhāv* in pāda d is used in a twofold sense (*śleṣa*); but the two savants differ in their interpretation of pādas cde. Pischel writes: (p. 238 l. c.) "Varuṇa und Mitra sollen zu den gepressten Soma herbeieilen, wie die Adhvaryus zum Spülen des Somas eilen. Der Vergleich ist passivisch gewendet = *yáthā hastíbhīr ā dhāvyaṭe táthā ā dhāvataṁ narā*" and translates the verse as, "Wenn am Himmel die Morgenröte aufleuchtet, dann kommt ihr Heilige zu meinem gepressten Soma, wie die Adhvaryus (zum Spülen des Somas), o ihr Männer, Arcanānas hegend." Oldenberg has, on the other hand, observed: "Wie ich GGA. a. a. O. gezeigt habe, steht *ā-dhāv* zugleich in der Bedeutung "herbeilaufen" und "reinigen", jenes das Werk der Füße, dieses der Hände: "wie (man) den von geschickth ä n d i g e n (Priestern) gepressten Soma (mit eben diesen geschickten Händen reinigt, *ā-dhāv*), so eilt herbei (*ā-dhāv*; vielleicht auch hier zu verstehen: zum Soma) mit euern Füßen, ihr Männer." <sup>a</sup> Der Vergleich zwischen dem Reinigen und dem Herbeilaufen beruht darauf, dass beides *ā-dhāv* heisst, vgl. zu I, 64, 2."

These observations do not seem to me to be convincing, and I therefore believe that the verb *ādhāv* in d has the sense of 'running' only and has no connection with pāda c. It is possible however to construe *paḍbhīh* in d with *sutām* in c. *paḍbhīh sutām* = *dhībhīh sutām*; 'pressed with (i.e., to the accompaniment of the chanting of) hymns;' compare 3, 12, 1 (cited above): *īndrāgnī ā*

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<sup>a</sup> The verse is translated by Grassmann as: "Beim Morgenlichte, o ihr beiden ehrwürdigen, im Götterreich, das schimmernde Rinder hat, presst mir den Soma gleichsam mit den Händen [*hāstebhīr* zu lesen] und knetet mit den Füßen hin, o Männer, den [Dichter] Artschanānas unterstützend" and by Ludwig as: "wenn sie mir herleuchtet die heiligen, in dem reiche der götter, wo weisse kühe sind, lauft herbei ihr zwei männer, zum gepressten soma wie mit greifenden schlingen, erhaltend den Arcanānas."

*gataṁ sutāṁ gīrbhīr nābho vāreṇyam* "Come, O Indra and Agni, to (this) excellent (Soma) juice pressed with hymns"; 3, 12, 2: *ayā pātam imāṁ sutāṁ* "Drink this (Soma juice) pressed with this (hymn)"; 8, 48, 7: *iṣirēṇa te mānasā sutāsyā bhakṣimāhi pītryasyeva r̥gāh* "May we partake of thee, pressed with devoted (or vigorous) hymn, as of paternal wealth." Compare also Caland-Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, § 127 ff. and the literature cited therein. The meaning of pādas cde in this case would be, 'Come running quickly, O ye two heroes, to Arcanānas and to the Soma juice pressed by dexterous priests to the accompaniment of hymns, protecting.'

Arcanānas is, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the seer of this hymn.

4, 38, 3: *yām sīm ānu pravāteva drāvantaṁ*  
*vīsvaḥ pūrūr madati hārṣamāṇaḥ |*  
*paḍbhīr g̃dhyantaṁ medhayūṁ nā śūraṁ*  
*rathatūraṁ vātam iva dhrājantaṁ ||*

When explaining pāda c of this verse on p. 146 above, I have, following Pischel, Bloomfield, and other interpreters, construed *paḍbhīh* with *g̃dhyantaṁ* and interpreted the expression as 'speeding with a will.' Though this is not wrong (*paḍbhīh* has, as we have seen on p. 272 above, the sense of 'eagerly,' 'with a will,' etc., also), I am now inclined to believe that it is much more preferable to construe it with the word (*anu*) *madati* (in pāda b) as is done, in the case of *gīrbhīh*, *stómebhīh* and other synonyms of *paḍbhīh*, in many RV verses. Compare for instance, 1, 9, 3: *mátsvā susīpra mandībhiḥ stómebhir viśvacarṣaṇe* "Rejoice, O thou (Indra) with beautiful lips, that are honoured by all men, in (these) pleasing hymns"; 1, 51, 1: *abhī tyām meśām puruhūtām ṛgmīyam indraṁ gīrbhīr madata* "Cheer with hymns that Indra worthy of praise, invoked by many, the goat"; 8, 6, 39: *mátsvā vīvasvato matī* "Rejoice in the hymn (sung) from (the abode of) Vivasvat"; 10, 104, 3: *indra dhénābhir ihá*

*mādayasva dhibhīr vīśvābhiḥ* " Rejoice now, O Indra, in all these hymns and praises " ; 10, 116, 2 : *svastidā mānasā mādayasva* " Rejoice, O Indra that bestowest well-being, in (this) hymn " ; 3, 53, 10 : *mādanto gīrbhīr adhvaré suté sácā* " Rejoicing with hymns in the Soma-sacrifice " ; and particularly 5, 36, 2 : *ānu tvā rājann ārvato ná hinván gīrbhīr madema puruhūta vīśve* " O thou king that art invoked by many, may we all cheer thee with praises as one does who impels race-horses." <sup>9</sup>

I therefore translate the verse as follows : " Whom, running (swiftly) like (water) down an incline, rushing forward like a valiant soldier in battle, surpassing chariots (in speed), and speeding like the wind, every Pūru (i. e., every one of the Pūru clan) rejoicing, cheers with praises."

This verse, and also the other verses of this hymn, are addressed to Dadhikrā or Dadhikrāvan, the swift horse whom Mitra and Varuṇa presented to the Pūrus (cp. 4, 39, 2 : *yām pūrūbhyo didivāmsam nāgnīm dadāthur mitrāvaruṇā táturim*), that is, to their king Trasadasyu, and whose achievements on the race-ground are described in hymns 4, 38-43.

The expression *padbhīr anumadati* in the first half-verse is exactly parallel to the expression *gīrbhīr anumadema (hinvantah)* in 5, 36, 2 cited above; the meaning of the expression is, '(Every Pūru) cheered with praises and impelled (the horse) to further exertion.' Compare in this connection 7, 7, 1 : *prā vo devām cit sahasānām agnīm āsvam ná vājinam hiṣe nāmobhiḥ* " Like a strong horse, I impel with praises the vigorous god Agni for you " ; and 10, 156, 1 : *agnīm hinvantu no dhīyaḥ saptim āśum ivājīṣu* " May our praises impel

<sup>9</sup> In all probability however *hinván* (singular) at the end of the pāda is a shortened form of *hinvāntah* (plural), and the half-verse means, " O thou king that art invoked by many, may we all cheer thee with praises and impel thee as (people do) race-horses". *hinvāntah* is an attribute of *vayam*.

Agni, like a fleet courser in the races " in which the verb *hi*, together with words meaning 'praises,' is used in connection with race-horses. A similar usage is observable in 9, 68, 7 ; 9, 64, 16 ; 9, 8, 4 ; 8, 44, 19 ; 1, 143, 4 ; 1, 144, 5 ; 10, 88, 5 and 10, 140, 3 also. Words denoting 'race-horses' however are not used in these verses, but are to be understood.

It thus becomes evident that the expressions *gīrbhir arvataḥ anumadanti* and *gīrbhir arvataḥ hinvanti* are synonymous<sup>10</sup> and signify 'they cheer the race-horses with praises and thereby impel them to further exertion.' The full formula to be employed in this connection is thus *gīrbhir anumadanti hinvanti ca* ; but, as we have seen, it is only in one verse (5, 36, 2 cited above) that both the verbs are used ; the other verses use one verb only, either *anumad* or *hi*, to express this idea.

*pravātā* in pāda a is construed in connection with the course of Dadhikrā by Grassmann (who translates the expression *pravāteva drāvāntam* as 'Dem, wenn er läuft gleichwie im jähen Sturze'), Ludwig ('an dem wie auf abschüssigem pfade laufenden'), and Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 148 : 'every Pūru praises him as he runs on a precipice as it were'). " This seems to me to be a mistake, and I believe that the simile in pāda a is a *lūptopamā*, the elided word being (the upamāna) *āpaḥ*. Compare the simile *āpo nā pravātā yatīḥ* that is used in 8, 6, 34 ; 8, 13, 8 and 9, 24, 2 in all which verses the

<sup>10</sup> The verb *svar* with *sam* is used instead of *anu-mad* in similar circumstances in 9, 66, 8 : *sām u tvā dhībhir asvaran hinvatīḥ saplā jāmāyah | vipram ājā vivāsvataḥ* " The seven sisters have cheered thee that art wise with praises and impelled thee, from the abode of Vivasvat (?) in the race " and 9, 67, 9 : *hinvānti sūram ūsrayaḥ pāvamānam madhuścūtam | abhī girā sām asvaran* " The usris (?) impel the bright honey-dripping Soma Pavamāna ; they have cheered him with praises."

<sup>11</sup> Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translates the expression as *wenn er wie in vollem Laufe dahineilt.*'

*sāmānya-dharma* is swift going; cp. also 9, 6, 4: *ānu drapśāsa indava āpo nā pravātāśaran*; 7, 18, 15: *indrenaité tṛtsavo véviṣāṇā āpo nā sṛṣṭā adhavanā nīcīḥ*; 9, 17, 1: *prā nimnēneva sīndhavaḥ . . sōmā asṛgram āśūvaḥ*; 9, 6Q, 7: *sīndhor iva pravaṇé nimnā āśūvaḥ*; 1, 57, 1-2; 10, 148, 5, etc.

There can be no doubt that, like the other epithets *pravateva dravantam*, *rathaturam* and *vātam iva dhra-jantam*, the epithet *medhayuṁ na sūram gṛdhyantam* too describes the swiftness of Dadhikrā. The meaning of the expression is, 'speeding like a valiant soldier in battle'; and it is my belief that the root *gṛdh* does not signify 'to be greedy' here and that the translations of Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*: 'mit den Füßen (kampf) begierig wie ein Held nach der Meisterschaft begierig'), Grassmann ('Im Laufe strebt er, wie ein Held nach Beute'), Bloomfield (p. 353 l.c.: 'impatient with his feet, as a hero (is impatient) when eager for strife'); and Ludwig ('der wie mit schlingen bestrebt zu erfassen, als lanzenkundiger held') as also Pischel's explanation (l.c., p. 232: dass Dadhikrāvan im Laufe ungeduldig die Riemen erfasst und sie schüttelt wie ein streitlustiger Held die Zügel) are all wide of the mark. Regarding the simile, compare 1, 85, 8: *śūrā ivéd víyudhayo nā jāgmayah* 'Going swiftly like valiant men ready for the battle' and 1, 158, 3: *úpa vām ávaḥ śaraṇám gameyaṁ śūro nājma patáyadbhir évaiḥ* 'May I go to your shelter as a hero goes to battle with flying feet (?)' in which verses too the upamāna is *śūra* and the *sāmānyadharma* swift going.

4, 2, 12: *kavīm śasāsuh kaváyó 'dadbhā  
nidhāráyanto dúryāsv āyóḥ !  
átas tvám dṛśyāñ agna etān  
paḍbhīḥ paśyer ádbhutāñ aryá évaiḥ ||*

The first half of this verse is unambiguous and may be translated as, "The undeceived wise ones instructed the wise one, establishing him in the dwellings of Āyu."

*ūdabdhāḥ kavāyaḥ* in a refers to the gods (*devāḥ*) who brought Agni down to the earth and established him in the dwellings of men so that he may guard these dwellings and also carry the offerings made by men to the gods; the word *śaśāsuh* refers apparently to these injunctions (that Agni should be the *grhapati* and *havyavāt*) and also perhaps to his officiating as *hotṛ* on behalf of men. Compare Sāyaṇa: *śaśāsuh hotā bhaveti śaśamsuh*.

The second half-verse is ambiguous and can be interpreted in two ways:

(1) We may regard it as a paraphrase of the first half of the preceding verse, *cittiṃ ācittiṃ cinavad vī vidvān prṣṭhēva vītā vṛjinā ca mātān | rāyē ca naḥ svapatyāya deva ditiṃ ca rāsvāditim uruṣya*. The words *citti* and *acitti* here are explained by Sāyaṇa and Geldner as *puṇya* and *pāpa* (Recht und Unrecht) or *jñāna* and *ajñāna* (Verstand und Unverstand) while Grassmann, Ludwig and Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 317) give the latter explanation only. *citti* denotes 'pious thought, i.e., piety,' here and *acitti*, 'impious thought, impiety;' and the meaning of the verse is, "May he, the knowing one, distinguish piety and impiety, (and) the (pious and impious) mortals like straight and crooked backs (of horses). (Help us) to wealth and good offspring, O god; grant us Diti and keep off Aditi." <sup>12</sup>

As a paraphrase of the first half of this verse, we may translate the second half of 4, 2, 12 as: "From there, O Agni, mayest thou look at these rich people that are visible by their thoughts and (those also) that are invisible by their thoughts." *paḍbbhiḥ* = *dhībhiḥ*; and *paḍbbhiḥ dṛśyān* 'visible by their thoughts' means 'those whose thoughts, i.e., hymns or works of piety, are visible or plain to be seen.' Similarly, *evaiḥ adbhutān* denotes the rich people 'whose thoughts (hymns or works of

<sup>12</sup> The meaning of the fourth pāda, is obscure; see Oldenberg in SBE. 46, 321 and Ludwig's *RV. Ueber*.

piety) are invisible, i.e., can not be seen,' that is, rich people who perform no works of piety. The expressions *paḍbhir dṛśya* and *evair adbhuta* in this verse are thus paraphrases of the terms *citti* and *acitti* of the preceding verse.

The meaning of *evaiḥ* is not known exactly and requires to be investigated. For the present however, I look upon it as a synonym of *kratu* or thought; compare in this connection 7, 62, 2: *ebhīḥ stómebhir etaśébhir évaiḥ* where *evaiḥ* is used as an epithet of *stomebhiḥ*.

(2) Secondly, we may regard the second half-verse as containing a virodhābhāsa; that is, it is possible that the epithets *dṛśya* and *adbhuta* refer, not to different men (as in the interpretation given above), but to the same men. The half-verse would then mean, "From there, O Agni, mayest thou look with thoughts on these rich men that are visible (and at the same time) invisible (i.e., unfathomable or wonderful) with their thoughts (hymns)." *aryaḥ* 'rich people' refers to the sacrificers or 'patrons' (see Geldner, <sup>13</sup> *RV. Ueber.*, and the passages referred to by him there) who are visible, *dṛśya*, to Agni, and are at the same time, invisible, *adbhuta*, in their thoughts. That is to say, the patrons are visible, while their thoughts are *adbhuta*.

*paḍbhiḥ* is synonymous with *dhībhiḥ*, but should be construed with *paśyeh* and not with *dṛśyān*. Compare in this connection 1,139,2: *yuvór itthādhi sádmasv ápaśyāma hiranyáyam | dhībhiś caná mánasā svébhir akṣábbhiḥ sómasya svébhir akṣábbhiḥ* "Thus did we see, with thoughts, with mind, with our own senses, with the senses of Soma, your golden (throne) in your abodes." The expression *dhībhiḥ paś* signifies in all probability 'to look with heed or care;' and *paḍbhiḥ paśyeh* of this verse is thus a synonym of *vi cinavat* used in the preceding verse.

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<sup>13</sup> He however looks on *aryaḥ* as genitive singular, and not as accusative plural.



*adbhuta* has two meanings, (1) invisible, and (2) wonderful, marvellous; and either of these meanings fits the context in this verse. In the first case, *évair ádbhutān* means 'with invisible, i.e., hidden, deep or unfathomable thoughts or hymns.' Compare 5, 85, 1: *prá samjāje brhád arcā gabhīrām bráhma priyām váruṇāya śrutāya* 'Chant loudly the dear deep hymn for the famous sovereign Varuṇa'; 1, 35, 7: *gabhīrávepā ásurah sunīthāḥ* 'The mighty one of deep inspiration and good guidance'; 10, 62, 5: *tá id gambhīrávepasah* 'They (the Virūpas) indeed are deeply inspired'; 8, 8, 2: *kāvī gambhīracetasā* 'O ye two wise ones whose thoughts are unfathomable'; 1, 24, 9: *urvī gabhīrā sumatīḥ te astu* '(O Varuṇa), may thy wide, unfathomable good favour be (for us)'; 7, 87, 6: *gambhīráśaṃso rájaso vimānaḥ* '(Varuṇa) the measurer of space, whose thoughts are unfathomable'; and also 4, 5, 6: *idám me agne kiyate pávakāminate gurúm bhārám ná mánma ! brhád dadhītha dhṛṣatā gabhīrām yahvám pṛṣthám práyasaḥ saptádhātu* whose meaning is not clear to me. Compare also the epithet *ádbhutakratu* that is applied to Agni in 8, 23, 8: *yajñébhīr ádbhutakratum yám kṛpā sūdáyanta ít* and to Mitra and Varuṇa in 5, 70, 4: *mā kásyádbhutakratū yakṣám bhujemā tanúbhīḥ*. I have interpreted this term on p. 184 above as 'having wonderful strength'; but it seems preferable to interpret it (as Roth and Grassmann have done) as 'having wonderful thoughts', i.e., as the equivalent of *évair ádbhutān* in 4, 2, 12d and of *gambhīracetas* and *gambhīraśaṃsa* in the verses cited above.

According to this interpretation, *evair adbhutān* is, so to say, equivalent to *kavitamān* or *vipratamān* and can be used (like these words) to describe gods as well as priests and patrons (*yajamāna*).

If we regard *adbhutān* as equivalent to *citrān*, *évair adbhutān* means 'with wonderful thoughts (hymns)'; compare, 6, 66, 9: *prá citrām arkām . . mārutāya svátavase bharadhvam* "Offer the wonderful hymn to the

very strong host of the Maruts"; and 5, 18, 4 : *citrā vā yēṣu dīdhitīḥ* "in whom (sc. yajamānas) is brilliant thought." <sup>14</sup>

According to this interpretation, pādas cd of 4, 2, 12 contain *virodhābhāsa* combined with *śleṣa*.

Thus, whether we understand *adbhuta* as 'unfathomable' or as 'wonderful,' pādas cd according to the second interpretation refer to the patron who worships Agni with excellent hymns and are to be read together with the following verse (4, 2, 13): *tvām agne vāghāte supṛāṇītiḥ sutāsomāya vidhaté yaviṣṭha | rātnam bhara śaśamānāya ghr̥ṣve pṛthū scandrām āvase carṣaniprāḥ*. The meaning of this verse is, "Bring, O Agni, youngest, that delightest in giving, whose guidance is good, to the worshipper who has pressed the Soma, who has made ready the sacrifice, broad brilliant treasure in order to help him, thou that fillest (the expectations of) people"; and the worshippers that are referred to here as *vidhat*, *sutasoma* and *śaśamāna* are the same as the *evair adbhutā aryah* of the preceding verse.

Concerning the use of the instrumental in *evair adbhutān* and *paḍbhīr dṛśyān*, compare § 92 in Delbrück's *Ai. Syntax*, and particularly Śata. Br. 1, 8, 1, 9 : *bahuḥ prajayā paśubhir bhaviṣyasī* and *ibid*. 2, 1, 4, 28 : *yathāsau dyaur bāvī nakṣatrain evam bahur bhūyāsam* cited by him there.

4, 2, 14 : *údhā ha yád vayām agne tvāyā  
paḍbhīr hāstebhiḥ cakṛmā tanūbhiḥ |  
rātham ná krānto āpasā bhurijor  
ṛtām yemuḥ sudhyā āśuṣānāḥ ||*

<sup>14</sup> *citra* occurs as an epithet of *dhī* in 8, 66, 8 : *sémām nah stómam juṣṣānā ā gahindra prā citrāyā dhiyā* and 8, 66, 14 : *tvām na nī tāva citrāyā dhiyā sīkṣā śaciṣṭha gātuvīt*. But the word *dhī* in these verses, or at least in the latter, signifies not 'hymn,' but 'benevolent thought' or 'favour' of the deity invoked.

“ And (all), O Agni, that we have, with thoughts, hands (and) bodies done for thee, with effort, like those who turn the wheel between the shafts,—(in all this), the pious-minded have held up the Law, aspiring after it.”

In connection with pādas ab, compare T.A. 2, 3, 1: *yād vācā yān mānasā bāhūbhyām ūrūbhyām aṣṭhīvādbhyāñ śiśnair yād ānṛtaṁ cakṛmā vayām | agnir mā tasmād énaśo gārhapatyah prāmuñcatu* “ If we have committed sin with speech, thought, with arms, thighs, knees (or) genital organs, may Agni Gārhapatya free me from that sin ” ; T.A. 10, 24 (31): *yād áhnā pápam akārśám | mánásā vācā hastābhyām | pádbhyām údāreṇa śiśnā | áhas tād avalumpátú* “ The sin that I have committed by day with thought, speech, hands, feet, stomach and genital organ,—may the day destroy (or, stifle) it ” ; Mukundamālā-stotra 15: *kāyena vācā manasendriyair vā buddhyātmanā vā prakṛtes svabhāvāt | karomi yad-yat sakalam parasmai Nārāyaṇāyaiva samarpayāmi* “ Whatever I do, with body, thought, speech, sense-organs, mind, spirit, or according to nature, all that I make over to the great Nārāyaṇa alone ” ; Śivāparādha-kṣamāpaṇa-stotra 14: *kara-carāṇa-kṛtaṁ vā karma-vāk-kāyajaṁ vā śravaṇa-nayanajaṁ vā mānasaṁ vā 'parādham | vihitaṁ avihitaṁ vā sarvam etat kṣamasva jaya jaya karuṇābde śrī-Mahādeva Śambho*;<sup>15</sup> and the expression *mama janma-prabhṛty etat-kṣaṇa-paryantaṁ madhya-vartini kāle rahasi prakāśe ca maṇo-vāk-kāya-karmabhiḥ jñānato 'jñānataś ca sambhāvita-sakala-doṣa-parihārārtham* that occurs in the *samkalpa*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The author of the *Mukundamālā-stotra* is said to be Kulāśekhara-ālvār, and of the *Śivāparādha-kṣamāpaṇa-stotra*, śrī-Śaṅkarācārya. These hymns are well-known and are printed in almost all collections (s t o t r a - r a t n ā k a r a) of such stotras.

<sup>16</sup> A *samkalpa* is a formula recited before performing vratas, giving gifts, bathing in rivers, etc., in which, after mentioning exact particulars of the time and place, the performer sets forth his ‘intention’, that is, what he is going to do, with what object and how. In a formula that I have often heard recited in the Kannaḍa country, there occur the following (or similar) words in the place

printed on pp. 1300 ff. of the Telugu edition (Mysore, 1914) of Nṛsiṃha's Prayoga-pārijāta, Ṣoḍaśakarmakāṇḍa.

Compare also Manu 1, 104: *mano-vāg-dehajaiḥ karma-doṣaiḥ*; MBh. 3, 146, 89: *karmasu deha-vāk-citta-dūṣiṣu*; ibid. 1, 62, 25: *śarīreṇa kṛtaṁ pāpam vācā ca manasaiva ca* and the other passages cited by Pischel on p. 230, l. c. in which human actions are divided into three groups *kāyika*, *vācika*, and *mānasika*. The words *paḍbhiḥ* and *tanūbhiḥ* of the above verse refer to two of these groups: *tanūbhiḥ* corresponds to *kāya*, *śarīra* and *deha* in the above-cited passages and *paḍbhiḥ* to *manas* and *citta* in them.

Regarding *bhurijoh*, the observations of Pischel on p. 239f. l. c. make it very probable that it denotes "Schleif-apparat; Schleifmaschine", i. e., a machine (something like a grinding wheel) which consisted of a wheel that moved freely between two shafts. It is this wheel that is denoted by the word *ratha*, either by synechdoche, or because *ratha* itself has that meaning.<sup>17</sup>

of those given above: *mama iha-janmani pūrvajanmani janma-janmāntareṣu bālya-yauvana-kaumara-vārdhakeṣu jāgrat-svapna-suṣupty-avasthāsu tvak-cakṣuṣ-śrotra-jihvā-ghrāṇa-vāk-pāṇi-pāda-pāyūpas-thair jñānato' jñānato vā mano-vāk-kāya-karmabhis sambhāvitānām sarveṣāṁ pāpānām*. Compare in connection with this AV. 6, 96, 3: *yāc cākṣuṣā mānasā yāc ca vācōpārimā jāgrato yāt svapāntaḥ | sōmas tāni svadhāyā naḥ punātu* and RV. 10, 164, 3: *yād āśāsā niḥśāsā 'bhiśāsopārimā jāgrato yāt svapāntaḥ | agnīr vīśvāny āpa duṣkṛtāny ājuṣṭāny āre asmād dadhātu*.

A *samkalpa* printed on p. 2 (a) of Rgvedīya-nityavidhi (Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1919) has the words *mama ātmanah śruti-smṛti-purāṇokta-phala-prāptiyartham kāyika-vācika-mānasika-sāmsargika-jñātājñāta-sprṣṭasprṣṭa-bhuktābhukta-pītāpīta-sakala-pāpakṣayartham*.

<sup>17</sup> *ratha* in *ratha-nābhi* similarly denotes 'wheel' in Bṛh. Up. 2, 5, 15: *yathā ratha-nābhau ca ratha-nemau cārāḥ sarve samarpitāḥ* and in Muṇḍ. Up. 2, 2, 6; Praś. Up. 2, 6; and 6, 6: *arā iva rathanābhau*. Likewise, *ratha*=wheel, in Kauṣ. Up. 3, 8: *yathā rathasyāreṣu nemir arpitāḥ*.

Compare for instance VS. 34, 5: *yāsminn ṛcaḥ sāma yājūñṣi yāsmiṇ prātiṣṭhitā rathanābhāv ivārāḥ* "in which are firmly established the ṛks, sāman and yajus, as spokes in the nave of the wheel"; 5, 63, 7: *sūryam ā dhattho divi citryam rātham* "ye have placed in the sky Sūrya, the brilliant wheel";<sup>18</sup> and 9, 71, 5: *sām ī rātham nā bhurījor aheṣata dāsa svāsāraḥ* "the ten sisters (i. e., fingers) have set in motion (Soma) like the wheel of a grinding machine." *āpasā* denotes the effort that one has to make in turning the wheel.

The simile *rātham nā krānto* . . is to be construed with pādas ab; and the meaning of the verse thus is, "O Agni, in all that we have done for thee (i. e., in thy honour and for thy glorification) with thoughts, hands and bodies and with effort comparable to that which one makes when turning the grinding wheel, we have always sought to uphold the law and have aspired after it."

In *ṛtām yemuḥ* in pāda d, there is an abrupt transition from the first person (*vayām cakṛmā*) of the other three pādas into the third person. There seems to be no doubt however that the *sudhyā āśuṣāṇāḥ* of d are identical with the priests that are referred to as *vayām* in a. Compare the next verse, *ādihā mātūr uśāsaḥ sapṭā viprā jāyemahi prathamā vedhāso nṛṇ* . . in which the first person is again used and the change again into the third person in vv. 16, 17.

*ṛtām* in d is to be construed with both *yemuḥ* and *āśuṣāṇāḥ*, as pointed out by Pischel (p. 230, l.c.); compare 4, 23, 10 and also 4, 1, 13 and 4, 2, 16.

This closes the list of RV passages in which the word *paḍbhīh* occurs. In all these, as I trust has been

<sup>18</sup> Compare in this connection Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 31: "He [i. e., the sun] is the felly of Mitra-Varuṇa (5, 62, 2). . . . The sun is also called a wheel (1, 175, 4; 4, 30, 4) or the 'wheel of the sun' is spoken of (4, 28, 2; 5, 29, 19)" and also Bergaigne, I, 7.

made plain by the foregoing, *paḍbbhiḥ* has the value of *dhībhiḥ*, *manobhiḥ*, *dhītibhiḥ*, etc., and is a derivative of the root *spas* 'to see.' The word *paḍbbhiḥ* that is found used in VS. 23, 13, on the other hand, is the equivalent of *paḍbbhiḥ* and is clearly derived, as said by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, from *pad* 'foot.' The cerebralization of the letter *d* is anomalous and perhaps due to false analogy (cp. Lanman, Noun Inflection p. 475).

नमः परमऋषिभ्यो नमः परमऋषिभ्यः ॥

Mund. Up. 3, 2, 11.

तच्छंयो रा वृणीमहे । गातुं यज्ञाय ।

गातुं यज्ञपतये । दैवी स्वस्ति रस्तु नः ।

स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजम् ।

शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे । शं चतुष्पदे ॥

ओं शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥

# INDEX OF PASSAGES

Rk-samhitā								
I			114, 7	....	26	186, 6	....	255
			116, 1	....	139	8	....	256
			117, 18	....	54	189, 4	....	28
			120, 6	....	119	190, 4	....	180
			122, 10	....	134	6	....	256
3, 2	....	272	124, 4	....	32	II		
5	....	272	127, 1	....	126			
8	....	91	128, 6	....	108			
5, 7	....	139	8	....	118			
9, 3	....	275	129, 5	....	205	2, 2	....	14, 92
10, 1	....	229	130, 5	....	143	3	....	105
24, 6	....	208	10	....	74	4, 2	....	110
9	....	281	131, 2	....	149	5	....	209
25, 4	....	95	134, 4	....	135	6	....	139
30, 4	....	95	135, 6	....	272	9	....	256
32, 2	....	143	139, 2	....	280	5, 7	....	36
33, 2	....	47, 95	140, 1	....	25	10, 5	....	272
34, 7	....	91	5	....	204	11, 7	....	221
35, 7	....	281	7	....	10	8	....	221
39, 8	....	205	9	....	138	15, 3	....	143
51, 1	....	275	12	....	17	16, 2	....	231
14	....	229	141, 2	....	10	17, 3	....	140
15	....	254	4	....	136	18, 6	....	59
55, 8	....	231	142, 7	....	248	19, 2	....	93
58, 7	....	106	143, 5	....	139	20, 6	....	29
59, 2	....	105	8	....	75	24, 14	....	144
61, 10,	....	94	148, 3	....	17, 138	26, 3	....	246
63, 1	....	135, 200	5	....	13	27, 12	....	12
66, 1	....	5	149, 1	....	123	28, 4	....	184
5	....	8	153, 4	....	124	33, 10	....	201
71, 1	....	9	154, 7	....	26	34, 5	....	96
73, 1	....	220	156, 2	....	246	8	....	97
4	....	3	157, 1	....	149	18	....	15
6	....	251	158, 3	....	278	38, 2	....	202
79, 1	....	138	162, 2	....	27	3	....	203
80, 1	....	122	162, 7	....	248	39, 3	....	137
85, 7	....	28	166, 2	....	6	41, 14	....	60
8	....	278	168, 9	....	208	17	....	60
87, 6	....	30	169, 3	....	206	III		
92, 5	....	203	180, 9	....	220			
98, 1	....	182	182, 6	....	47			
100, 13	....	255	183, 1	....	95			
16	....	245	185, 2	....	6			
101, 3	....	184				3, 9	....	247
						7, 7	....	24
						8, 9	....	204

12, 1	....	272, 275
2	....	275
15, 2	....	5
17, 4	....	110
25, 5	....	4
26, 2	....	138
30, 22	....	53
31, 1	....	81
10	....	38
21	....	36
33, 2	....	137
36, 6	....	137
45, 1	....	122
5	....	240
46, 4	....	232
53, 10	....	276
23	....	20
24	....	19
55, 10	....	30
56, 4	....	144
58, 9	....	205
60, 6	....	97
61, 4	....	98

## IV

1, 1	....	110
3	....	139
2, 1	....	110
11	....	279
12	....	278
13	....	282
14	....	282
3, 11	....	57
13	....	187
4, 2	....	138
4	....	138
5	....	125
7	....	8
5, 4	....	30
6, 2	....	229
5	....	138
10	....	138
7, 10	....	222
17, 3	....	143
19, 7	....	128

21, 1	....	211
24, 7	....	268
29, 3	....	47
38, 3	....	275
4	....	111
5	....	146
41, 10	....	11
45, 3	....	31
49, 5	....	207
51, 9	....	204
52, 7	....	31
57, 4	....	56
8	....	55

## V

1, 2	....	125
7	....	4
12	....	229
2, 1	....	111
4	....	249
3, 7	....	127
6, 1	....	9
18, 4	....	281
28, 1	....	229
36, 2	....	276
41, 15	....	257
19	....	257
43, 11	....	75
62, 2	....	98
63, 7	....	285
64, 7	....	269
70, 4	....	184
75, 9	....	269
85, 1	....	281
7	....	18
86, 4	....	227 n.
87, 8	....	285

## VI

3, 4	....	113
5	....	94, 112
4, 3	....	210
4	....	222
6, 5	....	139

7, 1	....	105
11, 5	....	229
12, 3	....	112
5	....	210
15, 4	....	113
16, 4	....	54
18, 10	....	207
30, 3	....	219
44, 2	....	76
47, 14	....	232
49, 2	....	106
51, 1	....	31
63, 9	....	241
66, 9	....	281
10	....	138, 209
67, 8	....	114
9	....	29
71, 5	....	202
75, 8	....	76
88, 10	....	98

## VII

1, 2	....	3
12	....	7
17	....	12
21	....	6
3, 8	....	258
4, 7	....	16
5, 1	....	106
7, 1	....	276
10, 3	....	107
16, 1	....	108
18, 23	....	241
20, 8	....	233
30, 3	....	222
37, 2	....	272
54, 3	....	77
55, 16	....	188
56, 19	....	203
60, 5	....	77
61, 5	....	185
67, 7	....	272
70, 1	....	59
77, 1	....	201
78, 2	....	204



80, 2	....	204
83, 7	....	221
84, 3	....	191
86, 6	....	18
87, 3	....	251
6	....	281
88, 6	....	18, 184
90, 3	....	233
97, 6	....	77
104, 18	....	182

## VIII

1, 25	....	122
28	....	171
2, 27	....	78
3, 1	....	272
4, 18	....	12
6, 39	....	275
8, 2	....	281
10, 6	....	121
12, 32	....	29
13, 24	....	27
15, 8	....	211
18, 4	....	259
19, 1	....	114
21	....	114
20, 18	....	259
24, 3	....	234
4	....	228
25, 24	....	252
26, 9	....	272
18-19	....	260
27, 19	....	23
28, 2	....	253
31, 5	....	7
32, 20	....	40
33, 2	....	234
34, 6	....	253
43, 18	....	149
19	....	223
29	....	150
44, 29	....	221
45, 39	....	247
47, 5	....	258
48, 7	....	275

56, 2	....	17
5	....	247
60, 3	....	193
70, 11	....	37
71, 2	....	24
75, 6	....	8
87, 4	....	249
88, 1	....	14, 99
96, 3	....	230
99, 1	....	99
100, 7	....	144

## IX

12, 2	....	14
7	....	9
8	....	31
22, 1	....	139
2	....	138
38, 6	....	31
55, 2	....	27
66, 8	....	277 n.
67, 9	....	277 n.
69, 6	....	135, 139
7	....	139
71, 5	....	285
73, 2	....	28
86, 1	....	139
2	....	145
92, 3	....	17
94, 2	....	15, 99

## X

3, 1	....	115
2	....	107
5	....	113
6	....	115
7	....	106
6, 4	....	138
7, 4	....	13
12, 2	....	4
13, 4	....	28
15, 5	....	27
21, 11	....	40
31, 4	....	11

31, 5	....	78
32, 3	....	251
39, 14	....	5
44, 6	....	145
45, 7	....	115
46, 4	....	115
61, 8	....	260
20	....	20
62, 5	....	281
10	....	242
75, 4	....	15
78, 1	....	222
79, 2	....	266
88, 13	....	181
91, 7	....	145
97, 19	....	121
99, 6	....	120
12	....	267
100, 6	....	191
101, 4	....	146
102, 8	....	56
104, 3	....	276
105, 2	....	120
111, 9-10	....	143
115, 2	....	126
3	....	95
116, 2	....	276
119, 3	....	138
120, 8	....	37
126, 7	....	54
(Khila) 128, 4	....	53
132, 5	....	29
140, 3	....	48
142, 4	....	146
150, 3	....	24
156, 1	....	276
160, 5	....	53

Vājasaneyi-  
sāmhita.

1, 31	....	35
2, 6	....	35
2, 17	....	33
3, 43	....	78
4, 2	....	79
8, 50	....	33

22, 19	....	40
23, 13	....	264
34, 2	....	180
5	....	284

### Maitrāyaṇī- \samhitā

1, 1, 12	....	14
1, 4, 11	....	51
2, 7, 12	....	54

### Kāthakasamhitā

4, 14	....	51
7, 13	....	211
20, 1	....	33
21, 3	....	33

### Taittirīyasamhitā

1, 1, 2, 3	....	48
1, 3, 8, 1	....	25
1, 5, 1, 1	....	48
5, 1, 5, 2	....	32
5, 1, 6, 2	....	32
5, 3, 10, 3	....	32
5, 7, 3, 4	....	32

### Atharvasamhitā

1, 18	....	237
2, 34, 2	....	33
3, 15, 4	....	58
19, 3	....	39
6	....	148
4, 15, 2-3	....	147
4	....	148
4, 17, 5 (7, 23, 1)	....	205
27, 3	....	79
5, 1, 9	....	81
20, 7	....	148
6, 83, 4	....	39
7, 23, 2	....	99
45, 2	....	147
77, 5	....	39
109 (104) 1	....	15
8, 9, 8	....	164
25	....	165
26	....	166
9, 4, 21	....	16
10, 2, 31-33	....	168

10, 7, 38	....	178
39	....	179
8, 15	....	178
43	....	177
11, 2, 24	....	183
5, 13	....	146
6, 10	....	192
13, 1, 35	....	179
3, 2	....	184
6, 4	....	205
14, 2, 17	....	79
17, 1, 10	....	25
18, 2, 21	....	79
4, 18	....	80
19, 8, 2	....	80

### Aitareya- brāhmaṇa

3, 8, 6-7	....	32
5, 2, 5	....	34
6, 20, 9-10	....	34

### Śatapatha- brāhmaṇa

2, 3, 4, 24	....	35
3, 2, 1, 25-28	....	200
4, 2, 5	....	35
4, 3, 5, 20	....	100
10, 1, 3, 11	....	35
11, 2, 3, 3-5	....	198
4, 3, 5	....	182

### Taittirīya- brāhmaṇa

3, 11, 1, 1	....	164
12, 3, 1	....	163

### Jaiminiyopaniṣad- brāhmaṇa

1, 20, 4	....	162
----------	------	-----

### Tāṇḍya-mahā- brāhmaṇa

14, 2, 3	....	32
----------	------	----

### Gopatha-brāhmaṇa

1, 1, 1	....	162
---------	------	-----

### Aitareya-āraṇyaka

5, 1, 1	....	180
---------	------	-----

### Taittirīya-āraṇyaka

2, 3, 1	....	283
10, 24 (31)	....	283
11, 2	....	169

### Aitareya-upaniṣad

5, 2	....	167
------	------	-----

### Kenopaniṣad

3, 2	....	162
------	------	-----

### Chāndogyopaniṣad

3, 11, 3	....	167
7, 26, 2	....	197
8, 1, 1	....	169
5	....	167
4, 1	....	167

### Praśnopaniṣad

2, 1-2	....	179
4	....	165

### Bṛhadāraṇya- kopiṣad

3, 8, 8	....	179
5, 4	....	161

### Maitryupaniṣad

6, 30	....	167
-------	------	-----

### Yogatattvopaniṣad

1 1	....	170
-----	------	-----

### Rāmatāpanyu- paniṣad

5, 1	....	196
------	------	-----

### Āśvalāyana- śrautasūtra

1, 11, 8	....	33
4, 7, 4	....	116

### Kausikasūtra

44, 17	....	264
46, 54	....	55
95, 1	....	182

### Śāṅkhāyana- grhyasūtra

2, 10, 6	....	52
3, 2, 5	....	14
8	....	14
5, 1	....	81

Gobhila- grhyasūtra	
3, 4, 28 ....	190
Āpastamba- dharmaśūtra	
1, 23, 3 ....	196
6 ....	196

Bhāgavata	
4, 3, 3-12 ....	188
Mahābhārata	
1, 169, 4 ....	49
212, 4-6 ....	64
2, 71, 16 ....	192
44-5 ....	192
72, 1 ....	189
14, 90, 43 ....	189

Kathāsaritsāgara	
45, 183 ....	50
Jñātādharmakathā	
p. 212-3 ....	154
" 409 ....	154
" 417 ....	153
" 758 ....	154
Sāmyutta-nikāya	
3, 4, 25 ....	195

## INDEX OF WORDS

ātiricyate 168
ādbhutakratu 281
ādma 218
admasād 216
admasādya 219
admasādvān 219
adhyātma-jñāna- nityatva 49
apūrvā 180
abhi dyūn 181
abhipramūr 126
abhi-mad 38
abhiśunatara 61
ābhvam 199
ābhvaḥ 211
aratī 102
aṣṭācakrā 171
ācārya-pariṣadam
192
ātmanitya 49
indrāsena 64
irīṇam 249
upavaktā 202
ṛtajñāḥ 132
évaiḥ 280
óhire 114

kapardīn 56
keśīn 68
citrā 186
caitya 193
jarimān 257
jūṣṭa 46
jyāṇāja 20
tanāyāḥ 39
dāmsujūtaḥ 134
dāmsupatnī 128
dān 119
ducchīnā 60
dēvakṣatra 271
devakṣetra 271 n.
drāvayasi 113 n.
drāvayitnāvah
113 n.
dhvasāyat 205
dhvasrā 132
nabhanvāḥ 132
nijā 46
nītya 1, 3
nītya-stotra 9
nītya-hotṛ 13, 14
nīrekā 228
padbhīḥ 263, 266
pāri+nī 20

pāri+sad 57
pṛthak 136, 139,
148
pragardhīni 146
priyā 22
priyakṣatra 24
priyajāta 24
priyādhāman 25
priyāvṛata 24
pretārah 13
prēdhā 26
brahmayūj 46
bhāga 240 n.
bhurījoh 284
bhūtām 161
bhūtāḥ 194
manoyūj 46, 121
mṛṣ 59
yakṣām 161, 194
yakṣaḥ 194
yakṣabhīṣṭ 181
yajñā 7, 165
rajī 122
rātha 284
rāṣṭrabhīṣṭaḥ 179
riśādas 256
rukṣā 127

<i>vacoyúj</i> 46, 121	<i>sapsárāsaḥ</i> 208	<i>smādūdhnī</i> 251
<i>vanād</i> 209	<i>sabardūghā</i> 135	<i>smāddiṣṭi</i> 240
<i>vanerāt</i> 113	<i>sarājat</i> 95 n.	<i>smādrātiṣāc</i> 253
<i>vaneṣāt</i> 113	<i>sukṛta</i> 42	<i>svā</i> 36
<i>vāsu</i> 128	<i>sukṣatra</i> 44	<i>svāksatra</i> 44
<i>vāsavaḥ</i> 4	<i>sudānu</i> 8	<i>svāgopā</i> 45
<i>vājīnaḥ</i> 9	<i>subhāgā</i> 240 n.	<i>svajana</i> 41
<i>vāmā</i> 48	<i>sumājjāni</i> 246	<i>svadhā</i> 41, 46
<i>vīvrata</i> 121	<i>sumāt</i> 245	<i>svādhyti</i> 40, 41
<i>vīlīhotra</i> 14, 60	<i>sumātkṣara</i> 261	<i>svādhainava</i> 40, 41
<i>śagmā</i> 74	<i>sumādamśu</i> 245	<i>svaprakāśa</i> 41
<i>śagmiya</i> 81	<i>sumādgana</i> 247	<i>svāyaśas</i> 45
<i>śagmyā</i> 81	<i>sumādgu</i> 261	<i>svāyaśastara</i> 45
<i>śarāni</i> 58	<i>sumādratha</i> 247	<i>svāyu</i> 241
<i>śunām</i> 51, 52, 61	<i>suyūj</i> 45	<i>svāyukti</i> 46
<i>śunāprṣṭha</i> 59	<i>suścandrá</i> 44	<i>svayūj</i> 45
<i>śunāhotra</i> 60	<i>suhōtr</i> 44	<i>svāyukti</i> 41
<i>śubhrā</i> 190	<i>smāt</i> 245	<i>svāścandra</i> 44
<i>sattvam</i> 194	<i>smātpuraṇdhi</i> 253	<i>svāhotr</i> 39
<i>sattvaḥ</i> 194	<i>smādabhiṣu</i> 252	<i>havis</i> 76
	<i>smādiṣṭa</i> 252	









